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United States & Canada

Dissenting Commerce Official Dismissal Reported

PM1704132991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 91 Union Edition p 6

[Correspondent V. Nadein report: "Bush Team Does Not Tolerate Dissent; Dismisal for Official Who Told the Truth in Congress"]

[Text] Washington—The Bush team really does not tolerate dissenters. Although, to be completely accurate, it is necessary to add: in its own ranks. For criticism of the President is usual in Congress, in the pages of the press, and on television. Not a single U.S. president would dare to encroach upon this right of citizens.

However, the procedure is different for high-ranking administration officials. And, most importantly, it is tough and unbending. Generals who shared too frankly with journalists their own personal plans for waging war (plans which did not coincide with the President's) have seen this for themselves. And Dennis Kloske, under secretary of commerce, has also just seen this for himself.

A characteristic detail: In all cases the divulging of unwanted information has been punished without delay, unequivocally, and with the maximum severity—by dismissal. On Monday Kloske had delivered a report in Congress which did not coincide with the position of the White House, and then on Tuesday it was learned that there would be no wages for him here as of 1 June.

Testifying to a session of the House Foreign Affairs Committee's Subcommittee on International Economic Policy and Trade, D. Kloske had spoken too frankly about something of extreme importance to the White House and the President personally.

He had said that the administration had ignored his persistent recommendations to restrict exports to Iraq of modern technology with a dual application—for both peaceful and military purposes. It is a question of powerful computers, chemical products, and telecommunications equipment.

After the Department of State failed to heed Kloske's warnings, he still managed to set forth his opinion "at a very high level." And, once again, unsuccessfully.

"The Department of State firmly opposed my position, choosing instead to approve diplomatic relations with Iraq," D. Kloske told the legislators. "I decided to use the only possibility available to a bureaucrat. I endeavored to tie up all sales (to Iraq) in red tape."

The testimony of the leader of the department directly responsible for export controls slightly lifts the veil from one obscure circumstance of the past war. It is a question of whether the United States really sent Saddam Husayn false signals which indirectly encouraged the Iraqi dictator to commit aggression against Kuwait.

This viewpoint is quite widespread among the Democratic Party, which is in opposition in the United States. It was apparent, in particular, from the questions of Democrat S. Gejdenson, who chaired the subcommittee hearings. In the hearings, which were relayed on television, he said that neither S. Husayn's use of poison gases against Kurds in 1988 nor even the direct threat to consume half of Israel with binary chemical weapons in 1990 led the administration to the need to limit exports to Iraq of sophisticated technology with a dual application.

Both the White House and the Department of Commerce deny a causal link between D. Kloske's removal from the administration and his testimony in Congress. His personal wishes are advanced as the reason for his resignation, but the fact is that there is no documentary evidence for this.

"No comment," this 36-year-old under secretary said. According to a report in THE NEW YORK TIMES, this news reached him in Brussels, where D. Kloske had arrived to participate in an international trade conference. "All that I could have said in this regard was said yesterday."

However, statements by his colleagues, which were, of course, made on the basis of anonymity, leave few doubts about the real reasons for what happened. "The first lesson, which everyone should learn, is that, when testifying to Congress, you should never stand apart from other parts of the administration," one colleague remarked. "It is not the place to give juicy details of the way decisions are adopted."

Democrats accuse the administration of an improvident desire to appease Iraq shortly before the attack on Kuwait. They maintain that S. Husayn would not have ventured upon such unconcealed aggression if the United States, which had information on his intentions, had sent tougher signals with the help of restrictions on trade in sophisticated equipment.

However, certain commentators do not rule out a long-term aim, which could have led to a conflict with a wittingly favorable outcome for the United States. It cannot be ruled out that the war, which was relayed on television and has already been examined in thousands of articles and even hurriedly published books, has still to reveal its profound secrets.

It could be that it is precisely this which is the reason for such a harsh and instant reaction to the sincere testimony of an administration official who was fulfilling his official duty.

China

Beijing Facing 'Dilemma' on ROK Recognition

PM1704131991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Can the Dilemma Be Resolved?"]

[Text] In the opinion of diplomats accredited to Beijing, the announced visit to the DPRK by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, will be devoted to a discussion of the question of the ROK's desire to secure its incorporation in the United Nations Organization.

On Thursday the Chinese foreign minister confirmed the fact of the head of government's trip, but did not give a precise date, reporting that "it will take place in the very near future." It is believed that the trip could be scheduled for 15 April, "the birthday of Kim Il-song."

At the very same time, agencies report, Mikhail Gorbachev will meet with ROK President No Tae-u. Both countries—China and the Soviet Union—have traditional ties with Pyongyang.

The fate of Seoul's claims will depend to a considerable degree on the way the USSR and the PRC, permanent members of the UN Security Council, vote on the question of South Korea's joining the international community.

The DPRK and the ROK now have observer status at the United Nations, which gives them the right to participate in its activity but rules out the possibility of voting on particular problems.

Earlier this week Seoul informed the Security Council that, on the eve of the opening of the September General Assembly session, it would make a new attempt, for the ninth time, to become a UN member. In this connection Beijing, which supports Pyongyang and, at the same time, has an interest in developing contacts with South Korea, is faced with a dilemma: How to cope with the situation that has arisen?

China and South Korea still do not have diplomatic relations, but trade missions are operating in both capitals, performing consular functions. The volume of bilateral trade reached $3.2 billion last year. Diplomats and specialists believe that Chinese policy on this question is distinguished by realism. It is extremely important for Beijing to strengthen economic ties, particularly trade ties, with South Korea. It is in China's national interests to improve relations with Seoul, experts believe.

Northeast Asia

IZVESTIYA on Expectations of Japan Visit

PM1704144391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Special Correspondents S. Agafonov and S. Kondrashov report: "Starting from Scratch"]

[Text] Tokyo—M.S. Gorbachev's first day in Tokyo began with a visit to the emperor and ended with a banquet with the emperor with the first of three (perhaps even four) rounds of talks with Prime Minister Kaifu sandwiched in between. The talks constitute the political content of the visit and according to local opinion will guarantee it such moderate success as is possible, given a realistic approach to relations between the two countries and a realistic consideration of domestic factors in the two countries.

The visit is being called historic because it is the first of its kind. It is without precedent, neither before 1917, when not a single Russian tsar visited Japan, nor since the Revolution, when not a single top Soviet leader has visited it, or—and this should be highlighted—since 1945, even though top-level visits have been made from Moscow to all the adjacent countries, great and small, since the war.

These detours or flights bypassing Japan seem strange nowadays, but nevertheless they seemed to be in the nature of things. But changes in the nature of things are how history progresses. However, do not expect any sensations—that is how the public is being conditioned on both sides, where they are prudently damping down people's exaggerated expectations. Our relations are not suddenly going to put forth magical, delicate and beautiful flowers like the cherry tree blossoming in April. Nor is the Soviet Union going to be suddenly showered with gifts from the Japanese economic miracle. The Japanese are not going to get those four islands which almost to a man they regard as their own.

Modest success is anticipated: The first page of a new chapter, the beginning of a new process, not a breakthrough but the first step toward the future after which other steps may be expected with hope and almost with confidence, however. The dividing line between hope and confidence is defined by the question which now exercises the Japanese no less than us: Will the Soviet leadership still be able to adopt bold strategic decisions?

The Japanese, meanwhile, are examining the specific features of the present moment. Hence the more realistic view of the results of the talks now underway, the clear repudiation of previous unattainable claims, and, it seems, a quite precise idea of the limits of the possible. Hence, too, the view ahead, the reports, though admittedly not officially confirmed yet, that Prime Minister Kaifu will visit Moscow in August to continue the dialogue which which must be maintained in a working and constructive state. The Japanese side, as far as one can tell, would not like to miss the opportunities offered by perestroyka. Addressing a briefing for Soviet journalists, Ambassador T. Togo, representing the Japanese Foreign Ministry, said that from the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 through 1945 the Russian people had acquired "somber" memories of the Japanese, as had the Japanese from 1945 with regard to us, but the time had now come to expunge these "somber" memories and start "from scratch."

Yes, the time has come. Furthermore, there has been a delay which may also be called historic if you place it in the broad context of the times and world politics (and also economics). The prime cause of the changes in the international arena is the Soviet Union's emergence

from its state of permanent global confrontation with the United States. Until recently we marked the time from 1945, as prewar and postwar, but now a new chronology has begun—post-Cold War. The year of its official ending, 1990, which was proclaimed in Paris in November, was mainly given over to the settlement of Soviet relations with Germany, the main adversary in World War II. Has the time not finally come to settle the old accounts and in the first year after the Cold War place the emphasis on relations with Japan? Is it not natural, when emerging from the torpor of many years of "nuclear brinkmanship" with the United States, to take a calmer and broader look at the world? Not only at Western Europe but at Asia and the Far East too? Why can we not add to the number of our great partners Japan, with its weight and potential as the world's second "economic superpower," along with India and China, with which a breakthrough was achieved in 1989?

We rose in the world—and miscalculated in the world and at home—thanks to the factor of armed might. Now the military factor in world politics, despite the Saddam Husayn "surprise," is being pushed into the background by the economic factor, by economic might and efficiency. That is understood by the United States, which is increasingly concerned with competition with successful Japan and Western Europe. Increasingly the emphasis on the paramountcy of the economy and scientific-technical progress is affecting the Soviet Union, where the stages of perestroyka that we have gone through have turned into a profound national economic crisis.

In their official assessments the Japanese refrained for the first time last year from mentioning the Soviet "military threat" even though they continue to regard us as a military superpower seeking refuge (as they will presumably do for a long time to come) under the U.S. nuclear umbrella for want of their own and because of their strategic dependence on the United States. But in our country production is falling while in Japan it is constantly rising, our foreign trade is in a state of collapse while Japan's is running as smoothly as the clockwork of a Seiko watch. No one disputes that we would like to develop economic cooperation with Japan. It seems that this is the main practical purpose of Gorbachev's visit, and it fits perfectly into the current international context. The unresolved territorial question lies in the way of that. That is Tokyo's official position. Despite the new criteria according to which the success of the visit will now be judged, this position remains operative and the principle of the "inseparability of politics and economics" has been shaken but not damaged.

However, there is an obstacle not only in their position but in our disorganization and inability to assimilate the potential that now exists. We have had a shortfall of around $500 million—a miserly figure compared with the total volume of Japanese trade but almost 20 percent of their exports to the Soviet Union. Last year the volume of Soviet-Japanese trade fell by 2.8 percent. If you believe the forecasts published by the KYODO News Agency, this year trade may fall by a further 20 percent—business here is not accustomed to trading at a loss without guarantees of profit. But the government does not want to give guarantees for investments in the Soviet Union without concluding a peace treaty with the corresponding solution of the territorial question. Prominent Japanese businessmen are meeting with the USSR president on Wednesday, but the newspaper YOMIURI warns that that they will be offering a "limited menu."

As for the government menu, it is not markedly abundant or attractive in what it offers: It is reported that it will just be "unfreezing" $100 million of "humanitarian aid" in the form of food (frozen in January because of the Vilnius events) and will be giving around a further $10 million through the International Red Cross. Admittedly, according to those same reports, the Japanese government may offer during the talks $500 million in "emergency aid." But even this is not manna from heaven to the former victors who stand before the former vanquished in a less than proud position.

What is to be done? Who is to blame? The world is compact and interconnected. And in the Land of the Rising Sun, located so far from Moscow, it is our own problems and our own inseparable link between economics and politics, not dependent on the Japanese, that influence our president.

Near East & South Asia

U.S. 'Deceived' Rebels in Iraqi Civil War

PM1804091591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA international observer R. Mustafin under "The World Today: Problems and Opinions" rubric: "The War After the War"]

[Text] Events in the Persian Gulf region are still attracting the attention of the world public. Judging by reports from news agencies, armed conflicts between the rebels and the government troops are only continuing in individual regions of Iraq. In general the rebellion has been smashed and Baghdad is exerting control over the majority of the extensive areas that were enveloped by disturbances even quite recently.

The Iraqi refugees who have been forced to flee their homeland to escape the harsh repressions are in an extremely serious situation. Iran has already received over 700,000 refugees and Turkey has received 350,000. Practically another million, mainly women, children, and elderly people, have gathered in the border areas of Iraq; they are suffering from a shortage of water and food, they are being fired at and bombed by Iraqi troops, and are freezing to death in the mountains.

The tragedy of the Iraqi people is continuing. People are no longer dying because of the bombs and missiles of

multinational forces, but essentially because of the genocide carried out by S. Husayn's government.

The war for the liberation of Kuwait that has ended in the Persian Gulf and the uprising of the Kurds in the north of Iraq has shed new light on another extremely complex problem—the problem of the Kurds. In terms of its explosive potential not only is it not inferior to problems like the Palestinian one, it even surpasses it. The 16 million-strong people, descendents of the ancient Medes, have long been fighting for the right to have and live on their historical homeland. History has dictated their fate in its way. The territory on which they have lived for centuries has been divided by the borders of Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey. Some Kurds also live in the Soviet Union. I think we have now reached the time when no one can pretend that this problem does not exist. It does exist and requires a solution.

I was in Baghdad in the days following the cease-fire on the Iraq-Kuwait front. The official mass media kept silent about the antigovernment actions by Shiites in the south and Kurds in the north. We found out about these through our foreign colleagues and also from transmissions from radio broadcasters sitting by dim candlelight in a room in the "Al Rashid" hotel. Many of the people I spoke to believed that the days of the regime were numbered, particularly since there had been demonstrations against Saddam Husayn even in Baghdad.

But this did not happen. The reasons for the defeat of the uprising, I think, lie primarily in the fact that there was no strong organized opposition in the country. This is confirmed by the fact that the actions were spontaneous and uncontrolled. Brought to despair by their countless sufferings, the people let their anger and hatred overflow against the man who had plunged them into the abyss of the most severe ordeals with his adventurist politics. It was no accident that the uprising began in Basra, the city that suffered the most from the war.

Another reason for the defeat of the uprising, which was doomed to failure from the very beginning, can be seen in the fact that the rebels counted on assistance from outside, particularly from the United States. They did not take into account the fact that the prospect of a new Shiite formation, a new miniature Iran in the south of Iraq, would scarcely suit Washington. The prospect of the Lebanonization of Iraq did not suit other countries either, including Arab countries.

"We do not bear responsibility for the fate of the uprising in Iraq," President Bush stated, "and we do not intend to use our armed forces to replace the regime in this country."

Such interference, it was said in Washington, would mean going beyond the framework of UN decisions. At first sight, that is all correct. The United States, like any other country, does not have the right to interfere in the affairs of a sovereign state even if it does not have any liking for its leadership. But does that mean that the United States is free of responsibility for the fate of the uprising?

Yes, of course the Baghdad regime is to blame for what happened to Iraq, its foolhardy policy led to such a lamentable end to the war for Iraq. But was it not the United States that forced on the war? Did it not appeal to the Iraqis to rise up and overthrow Saddam Husayn? And after all people in Iraq believed in this appeal and saw it as a clear signal that the Americans would not stand aloof. In essence the United States deceived the rebels. It poured oil on the fire and stood aside, not wanting to dirty its hands but wanting to save face.

Faced with a dilemma—to help the rebels to overthrow Saddam, but at the same time to lose a regime that is at the moment capable of ensuring Iraq's territorial integrity and a balance of forces that suits everyone in the area, or, by not interfering in the civil war, to protect itself from unpredictable consequences connected with the coming to power of the Shiites in the south, supported by Teheran, or the Kurds in the north—the United States preferred the latter since this option is more suited to its interests in the given situation. And this is the special feature of the whole of American foreign policy—to see its own interest in everything and try and achieve it.

And yet you have to give the Americans their due. They have started the mass airlift of food and other aid to the Kurdish refugees. Military transport aircraft are dropping their cargo by parachute to the inaccessible mountain areas. In general the Persian Gulf conflict has taught the United States a great deal. It has started to react more flexibly and more efficiently to the rapidly changing situation, taking into account the slightest nuance and barely perceptible trends in the development of events.

In the prevailing situation a new military protege could quite suit the United States. If the regime falls, only the army is capable of preserving Iraq's integrity. It is quite possible that there is such a figure among the Iraqi military but the conditions are not yet ripe for his coming to power.

Other options might also be suitable of course, apart from just the Shiites or an excessively left-wing leadership coming to power. There is also the possibility of the Ba'thists—the more moderate and pragmatic of the "second echelon" of Saddam's entourage—remaining in power. Despite everything, the ruling party has its social buttress. Quite a lot of people have linked their fate quite closely with this party. As recent events have shown, the Shiite actions seriously frightened many Sunnis and this has led to a certain consolidation around the Ba'th party and the leadership. In addition, a whole series of Arabic countries, for example Saudi Arabia, are not interested in a leadership overburdened with democratic ideas coming to power in Baghdad.

And so the uprising has almost been suppressed. But does this mean that Saddam Husayn is holding power firmly in his hands? Hardly.

Once again I shall cite diplomats and journalists in Baghdad. Many of them believe that the regime will have serious problems in the next few months. There is no gasoline in the country. That means that there will be no way to ship out the harvest. Electric power stations have been destroyed, and it is simply impossible to restore them in the short term. The absence of a power supply will lead to the spoilage of meat and other food, of which there is moreover not much left. There is no clean water in the country, and therefore epidemics may start spreading extensively. Finally an opposition capable of heading an Iraqi offensive and enjoying the support of the West and of Arabic countries should start gaining strength by summer. In addition, if the Americans keep their promise to release 1,000 Iraqi prisoners of war daily—they make up around 70,000—then if you assume that they will have been suitably conditioned, you could be talking of an almost ready-made "fifth column."

However, at the moment these are just predictions. Time will tell how events will develop.

Israel Opposes Baker's Plans for Mideast Talks

LD1804090791 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1600 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Oleg Grekov commentary: "The Idea of the Regional Conference: All are Agreed, but No One Accepts"]

[Text] Prior to his leaving on his latest Middle East tour, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker will meet EC foreign ministers in Luxembourg today to discuss the convocation of a Middle East regional conference. As is known, the 12 EC member countries have not rejected the idea of the convocation of a regional conference in principle, and is anxious to insure a more active EC participation in the preparations for this conference. But their desire clashes with Israel's categorical rejection of their participation. Consequently, reconciliation between these two opposed stands constitutes one of the numerous sensitive tasks that face the U.S. secretary of state. However, it must be stated that the European part of Baker's tour is not the hardest part of his current task. To ensure that the idea of the conference becomes a tangible plan, and not a mere fantasy, all the parties concerned must first and foremost be ready to reciprocate in making concessions. It is also important to find contact points in the stands of the parties directly involved in the conflict. In addition to arranging who should participate in the conference, the topics they need to discuss should likewise be decided. There are still very side differences in this regard.

The ruling coalition in Israel does not seem ready even to think of its possible acceptance of the idea of exchanging land for peace, as evident from yet new proof: The pompous laying down of the cornerstone for a new settlement in the vicinity of Nabulus. This aroused denunciation by the Israeli opposition and the U.S. Administration alike. George Bush's press secretary iterated that the U.S. President continues to consider the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories as an obstacle on the road to peace. Demonstrators from a number of leftist parties in Israel tried to prevent the arrival of materials to the new settlement, but to no avail.

However, it must be stated that what will determine the matter in the end will not be the protests, but the Israeli Government. Since the Israeli prime minister, Yitzhaq Shamir, continues to declare that Israeli actions in the West Bank are internal matters concerning Israelis alone, the question of the convocation of any regional conference will remain hanging in the air. This is because it is not fully clear with whom Israel will accept to talk at this or that conference, or on what topics, as long as the question of the occupied Palestinian territory continues to be considered by Israel as in internal matter concerning it alone. Consequently, the issues which James Baker can put before the various interlocutors during his forthcoming visit become likewise unclear.

AFP, for example, quoting diplomatic sources, says that Baker will put forward two likely scenarios for his current mission: The first faces the Israeli voters with the task of choosing between peace and the rigid stand of the present Likud government. The second, which according to AFP is more insolent, provides for Baker's concentration on the exertion of diplomatic efforts, so that if his mission fails, he can lay the blame on the parties to the conflict. Both proposals are possible. By the way, they are not contradictory to each other. There are other possible proposals as well, but in all cases, Baker's mission could be useful if only because it will expose more clearly the attitudes of the various forces in the region, and that of the United States itself.

Foreign Ministry Statement Marks Afghan Accords

PM1704145391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "USSR Foreign Ministry Statement"]

[Text] The third anniversary of the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, which opened up favorable opportunities for the cessation of the fratricidal war between Afghans and for the quest for a peaceful way out of the conflict by political compromises based on observance of the balance of interests of the combatant sides, was on 14 April.

One would have thought that everything had been done—the dates for the Soviet troops' withdrawal were decided, legal barriers were set up to preclude interference in one another's affairs from Pakistani and Afghan territory, international guarantees were given to prevent this kind of interference, and steps were outlined to bring Afghan refugees home. Both the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan strictly cleave to the spirit and

the letter of the Geneva agreements, which is illustrated, in particular, by the completion of the Soviet troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan in precise accordance with the planned schedule. The Afghan leadership headed by President Najibullah, implementing the national reconciliation policy, has initiated a whole series of constructive proposals making it possible to begin inter-Afghan dialogue, ensure the free expression of the Afghan people's will via democratic elections in the country in keeping with national traditions, and thus create a new broadly representative government.

The Soviet Union, as a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, is endeavoring to do everything in its power to resolve the conflict peacefully. Its regular contacts with the countries most involved in the Afghan situation, primarily the United States, Iran, and Pakistan, are geared toward this. An intensive exchange of opinions on the question of unraveling the Afghan knot is under way with the UN secretary general and his representatives. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are still open to continuing the talks with the Afghan opposition whatever their orientation. In short, neither Moscow nor Kabul lack good will.

Unfortunately, the opposing side's action cannot by any means be described as adequate. Over the last three years not only has there been no lessening of Pakistan's interference in intra-Afghan affairs and of its direct support for attempts by the extremist section of the Afghan opposition to resolve the problem by strong-arm methods, but it has become increasingly provocative and wide-ranging. The Geneva agreements themselves are being violated and the constructive efforts designed to achieve a political settlement in Afghanistan are being torpedoed. Events in Khowst, which was captured by extremists with the direct backing of forces patronizing the hard-line opposition, served as an example of these actions.

Events in Khowst mark the start of a fresh escalation of the war in Afghanistan, which attests to the true intentions of those people who verbally advocate the observance of the Geneva agreements and a political settlement, but are in fact helping to fuel the conflict. All this jeopardizes the international consensus that has already emerged regarding the means of securing such a settlement and, consequently, makes it considerably more difficult to attain these accords on fundamental issues pertaining to a settlement which are already beginning to emerge.

The Soviet Union is firmly convinced that it is still possible to avert the threat of an increase in hostilities in Afghanistan, prevent a fresh wave of bloodshed from sweeping the entire country, and prevent the positive achievements secured by the joint efforts of the world community—as regards escaping from the conflict situation—from being wiped out. However, in order to achieve this, highly resolute actions are needed by all who have in one way or another found themselves involved in Afghan affairs, along with a return to the spirit of constructive cooperation which at one time made it possible to conclude the Geneva agreements. We think that a great deal here will depend on the United Nations, which has already made a weighty contribution to solving the Afghan conflict, on the guarantors of the Geneva agreements, and on Afghanistan's neighbors. It is important at this critical moment to rise above narrow egoistical interests and overcome unwarranted political ambitions, and together—possibly via the convocation of the relevant international conference—help the Afghans to cease fire, establish dialogue between all the combatant forces, and determine effective mechanisms for switching from war to peace.

Trade Unions Appeal on Behalf of Kurds

91P50161A Moscow TRUD in Russian
13 Apr 91 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Stop the Brutality"]

[Text] The Iraqi Kurdistan Front recently made an appeal regarding the fact that the Kurdish people are being subjected to genocide on the part of the Iraqi regime. The appeal states: "Cities and villages are burning; the blood of children, women, and old men is being shed. The entire might of Iraq's military weapons has attacked Kurdistan."

The Iraqi Kurdistan Front called upon all people of good will to unite efforts to help the Kurds defend their lives, the future, and freedom.

The world community has censured Baghdad's repression of the Kurdish population by a special resolution of the United Nations. A number of countries and international organizations has started to give humanitarian aid to the Kurds.

The members of Soviet trade unions appeal to the Iraqi authorities to stop the injustice and brutality against the Kurds of Iraq who are standing up for their legal international rights.

Primakov Receives Egyptian Ambassador 5 Apr

PM1504083491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Apr 91 Moscow Edition p 4

[TASS report from "Official Announcements" column]

[Text] On 5 April Ye. M. Primakov, member of the USSR Security Council, received Ahmad Mahir al-Sayyid, Egyptian ambassador to the USSR, at his request.

A discussion of questions of mutual interest took place.

LTTE Blamed for Sri Lankan Socioeconomic Ills

BK1304103991 Moscow International Service in Tamil 1400 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Vadim Menikov commentary]

[Text] As reported by the representatives of the armed forces headquarters, on 8 April, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelem [LTTE] militants fired upon a vehicle in which police officers were traveling, killing nine of them. Nevertheless, such cruel events occur almost every day. In the northeast, soldiers and peaceful citizens are being killed by gun fire and bomb blasts. The LTTE militants claim to have been protecting the interests of Tamils. But do the Tamils need such protection?

The experience gained from the war over the past nine years clearly shows that nothing can be achieved by armed conflict. Considering the interests of all the parties concerned, all issues and problems can be resolved through peaceful means only. What is impeding a solution to the conflict?

On several occasions, the Sri Lankan Government made peaceful proposals to the LTTE militants. Exhibiting goodwill on many occasions, it called upon the LTTE leaders to begin a round table conference. The LTTE militants pretended to heed it. It was only a ploy. After a brief interval, they resumed their offensive against the government.

In Sri Lanka, local elections are to be held soon. According to the government decision, these elections will be held in all the provinces except the northwest [as heard], as the war still continues there. Due to the acts committed by the LTTE militants, a major portion of the country remains (?ignored by the government).

If elections were held in the north, a legitimate government could have been elected there. Most of the socio-economic problems that are now facing the Tamil-dominated province could have been resolved by such a government.

Falin Meets Bangladesh Communist Party Leader

PM1504080791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Apr 91 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Comradely Meeting"]

[Text] V.M. Falin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met 9 April with S.A. Manik, general secretary of the Communist Party of Bangladesh Central Committee. The businesslike friendly talks mainly concerned the progress of reform in the Soviet Union and the international consequences of the Gulf crisis.

East Europe

Albanian Political Reforms Reported

PM1804104191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Apr 91 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Is Albania No Longer Socialist?"]

[Text] The words "people's" and "socialist" are being removed from Albania official's name. The country is taking the name Republic of Albania. The draft of the country's new constitution published on Wednesday in the Albanian press, which a People's Socialist Republic of Albania People's Assembly special commission formulated, stipulates this. The Albanian Telegraph Agency has reported that it will be submitted for discussion to deputies of the country's newly formed higher legislative organ, whose session opens 15 April.

In accordance with the draft, the head of state will be a president, elected by a people's assembly by secret ballot for a term of five years. No one can be elected as the country's president for more than two successive terms.

Political parties and organizations are separated from the state. The Constitution forbids their activity in the armed forces, ministry of internal affairs subunits, the ministry of foreign affairs, Albania's diplomatic legations abroad, in the courts, prosecutor's office, and the education system. At the same time, the state is creating conditions for political parties' activities and is cooperating with them.

Albanian citizens receive the right to freedom of entry and exit from the country, as well as to leave for work in other countries. In such a case the state assumes responsibility for the protection of their interests.

A constitutional council, to which ministers, People's Assembly and local people's council deputies, and members of political parties do not have the right to belong, will monitor whether laws comply with the country's constitution.

Walesa Paris Trip, Ties With Moscow Viewed

PM1804114191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 91 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA correspondent V. Bolshakov report: "Visit That Was Crucial. L. Walesa in France"]

[Text] Paris, 11 Apr—Polish President L. Walesa's official two-day visit to France has ended.

He was met at Orly Airport by French President F. Mitterrand and Foreign Minister R. Dumas. The Polish and French presidents signed a treaty on friendship and solidarity between their two countries. L. Walesa also met Prime Minister Rocard, opposition leader and Mayor of Paris J. Chirac, and other officials.,

Even before his visit to Paris L. Walesa did not hide the fact that one of the main aims of his trip was to seek "absolution" for as large a part as possible of Poland's debt to France—$5.2 billion (roughly 25 billion francs). Last month the "Paris Club" agreed to France's reducing this debt by 50 percent and later President F. Mitterrand promised to cut it by another 10 percent. L. Walesa pressed for the debt to be cut by 80 percent, and preferably totally remitted. Everything indicates that the sides failed to secure total mutual understanding since it was merely declared that France will increase its capital

investments in the Polish economy to the tune of 10 percent of Poland's total debt to France. France is in no hurry to write off the Polish debt once and for all.

L. Walesa's visit to France is undoubtedly crucial in the history of relations between the two countries. Commenting on this visit and the signing of a treaty between the two countries, the Paris newspapers note that henceforth Poland's rapprochement with the West—and specifically with the "Common Market"—will proceed at an accelerated pace.

That does not, however, mean that Poland intends in the future to wholly abandon its traditional ties with the Soviet Union. In an interview with LE FIGARO on the eve of his visit to Paris L. Walesa stated this most unequivocally.

Polish-Soviet Amity Group Modifies Activities

PM1704153191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 91 Second Edition p 6

[Report by unidentified correspondent: "USSR-Poland: At a New Stage"]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Apr—The bilateral links between Poland and our country are becoming increasingly businesslike and pragmatic. This is indicated by the results of the 13th Congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, held 13 April.

The organization now has a new name—the "Poland-Soviet Union Society." The congress also adopted a new society program and modified statutes, whereby individual membership will predominate. The program says that the society is an independent, self-governing organization, independently shaping its own tasks. It will cease to be as uniform as it was before. The previous organization, to be frank, reflected mainly the interests, views, and policy of the Polish United Workers Party.

The nature of the society's practical activity has also undergone modification. It used to be bound up with cultural matters. Now you will increasingly see it involved in arranging economic links between our countries, via, for example, the recently created Warsaw "Business Club," contributing to rapprochement and contacts between individuals on both sides of the border, and participating in charitable acts.

The congress elected the new chairman of the "Poland-Soviet Union Society" Main Board. He is Prof. Andrzej Zawislak, minister of industry of the Polish Republic.

General Staff Aide on CSFR Arms 'Reductions'

PM1704135991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

["Authoritative Opinion" interview with Colonel G. Paladyuk, official at the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Treaty and Legal Directorate, with TASS correspondent O. Moskovskiy; date and place not given: "Why Cloud the Issue"]

[Text] Recently Major General Jiri Divis, deputy chief of the CSFR Armed Forces General Staff Foreign Relations Department, gave interviews to several Czechoslovak newspapers. In them he made a number of accusations against the Soviet Union in connection with the situation that had formed around the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. TASS correspondent O. Moskovskiy asked Colonel G. Paladyuk, an official at the USSR Armed Forces General Staff Treaty and Legal Directorate, to comment on these articles.

[Paladyuk] It is hard to overestimate the significance of the treaty signed by the 22 heads of participating states 19 November 1990. The peoples of all the European countries, tired of the cold war and the protracted arms race, are waiting hopefully for the speediest attainment of this treaty's goals. However, the date of its entry into force is being put off. Certain forces in the West are trying to obtain as many unilateral military advantages for themselves as possible, and are making ever new demands on the Soviet Union. The stumbling blocks on the path to the treaty's ratification were, inter alia, tanks, armored combat vehicles, and naval artillery.

I would like to recall that the naval forces were ruled out as a subject for discussion by a mandate for the talks signed by all the participants. The United States and its allies in NATO insisted on this. Now, by bringing up this problem, the countries of the North Atlantic Alliance are using this to try and shift the blame for the delay in implementing the treaty onto the Soviet Union. A well-known ploy—the pot calling the kettle black, as the popular saying has it—is being used here.

In the discordant chorus of accusations against us you can also distinguish the voices of some of our former "brothers in arms." They are not only leveling unsubstantiated criticism against the Soviet Union's position, they are also appealing to the West that pressure be exerted by joint efforts on the USSR, thus forcing it to make unilateral concessions. They are basing their appeals on the claim that the Soviet Union presents a threat to the other European countries, including those of Eastern Europe, and therefore its territory needs constant supervision. Major General J. Divis pointed this out, inter alia, in the aforesaid articles.

In this connection, I would like to say the following. Mr. Divis, an expert on disarmament problems, knows perfectly well that the movements of Soviet military hardware have been caused primarily by the withdrawal of the Soviet Forces from East European countries, including from the territory of the CSFR. All our measures to withdraw these arms were carried out before the treaty was signed, and no secret has been made of this. The public has been informed of every step. When the treaty was signed, all the participants were presented with data concerning the number of arms, which were

subsequently listed more precisely. As were analogous figures by other participants, with the sole difference that as a result the number of arms increased somewhat in our country and decreased in the others.

Incidentally, it wouldn have been no bad thing if Major General Divis had, to be fair, noted the following detail in his interviews: The quantity of arms decreased significantly in the CSFR armed forces in the three months after the presentation of the initial figures: tanks by 41 percent; armored vehicles by 42 percent; and artillery by 55 percent. Thus several thousand units of arms that are restricted by the treaty were excluded from the reduction and elimination. This can scarcely be explained as a technical error. If the Soviet Union has merely relocated weapons and hardware and, what is more, on its own territory, then one asks: Where have several thousand units of the CSFR Army's weapons moved to from the center of Europe?

Things evidently do not add up here for Mr. Divis. Blazing with noble anger about the Soviet Union's allegedly ungentlemanly behavior, he is deliberately silent about sins of which he is well aware. And in this situation it would probably be worthwhile to do everything possible to find compromises that would suit all the parties, instead of getting involved in looking for those to blame for the prevailing situation.

West Europe

Lukyanov Visits Paris, Received by Mitterrand

LD1704225391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1843 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris, 17 Apr (TASS)—Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived here today on an official visit at the invitation of the chairman of the French National Assembly.

At Orly Airport, A.I. Lukyanov was met by Loic Bouvard, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, and other officials. Among those who met him was Yu.V. Dubinin, USSR ambasador to France.

From the airport the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed for the French National Assembly. In the sessions hall of the country's highest legislative body, the leader of the Soviet parliament was greeted by deputies and members of the French Government attending the session. A.I. Lukaynov was present at a National Assembly session devoted to ministers' replies to the legislators' questions.

Today too, there was a meeting between the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and French President Francois Mitterrand. At the end of a lengthy conversation, which lasted nearly two hours, the head of the Soviet parliament said to the many journalists who gathered by the entrance to the Elysee Palace: "We have had a thorough and detailed conversation. The French president was very interested in what is going on in our country, in the prospects for concluding a new Union treaty, and in the progress with drawing up the anticrisis program that we in the Supreme Soviet are to adopt. We exchanged problems [as received] on a wide range of international issues. A great deal links us with France and with its standpoint. I think that this trip and the meetings that are planned with French statesmen in parliament must make their contribution to the development of our cooperation. Today we are expecting from contacts with the French side through parliamentary channels even greater mutual understanding and the deepening of cooperation, specifically interaction between the various parliamentary commissions and committees, including as regards questions of international politics."

"We highly assess the current state of our relations with France," the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet said. "They are constructive, healthy relations, and they have a promising future. We must act in concert and advance together," he concluded.

Yu.V. Dubinin, the USSR's ambassador to France, took part in the conversation.

Visa-Free Travel Agreement With FRG Urged

PM1704143591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 91 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent Ye. Grigoryev article: "Green Light on the Oder: Visa-Free Regulations Introduced on the Border Between Germany and Poland"]

[Text] Bonn, Apr 12—Visa-free travel into the FRG has now been introduced for Polish citizens. They can also freely transit the FRG to a number of other West European countries. As a result, a "Polish invasion" was expected here. However, nothing of the sort has happened. In the first 24 hours after this change, approximately 50,000 people passed through the 24 entry points along the Oder-Neisse border. That is the normal figure.

Open borders between neighboring states in Europe are still not a normal phenomenon. The first Polish citizens on German soil were greeted by television reporters and in some places by people with flowers. However, center stage was taken by groups of wild young hooligans. The border police detachments had to be reinforced. That fact is that the introduction of visa-free entry for Poles was used by neo-nazi elements to organize anti-Polish attacks. Neofascist hooligans chanted "Germany for the Germans," "Poles out," and so forth. "These were disgraceful scenes on the Polish-German border. Young right-wing radical Germans pelted Polish cars with stones and yelled anti-Polish and anti-Semitic slogans. The most distressing thing is that no one spoke out against this hooliganism," the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU complains.

Meanwhile, the Federal Interior Ministry, political parties, and the press have expressed indignation at the behavior of the young right-wing radicals. Among other things they smashed windows in a bus carrying Polish musicians back from a tour of The Netherlands. Some commentators seek in the events at border crossing points a connection "with the evil tradition of anti-Polish prejudices under the former GDR regime." It should not be forgotten, however, that the neo-nazi attacks were organized primarily in response to a call from the well-known West German neofascist Kuehnen.

It goes without saying that the majority of the German people have nothing to do with this rabid nationalism. Furthermore, Germans are accustomed to having foreigners living alongside them in their country: There are around 5 million foreigners in the western part of Germany alone.

The Federal Labor Department does not rule out a "new wave of illegal employment of foreigners." This does not apply just to Poles, who traveled here in large numbers even when visas were required, for example to the Rhineland for harvesting work. The FRG, with its highly developed economy and high standard of living in the western federal Laender, is a magnet for people from many countries.

Meanwhile, in connection with the visa-free travel regulations for Poles, the construction workers union has expressed fears that the possible growth in the use of the illegal foreign workforce in the construction industry will mean a loss of jobs for Germans. The employers' federations, on the other hand, view the appearance of the foreign workforce quite calmly.

Furthermore, the FRG already has quota agreements with Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania whereby citizens of those countries can find temporary work here under "contracts with enterprises." In January 1991, an employment law came into force whereby Hungarian and Polish citizens may be hired with the agreement of the Labor Department for seasonal work of no more than 3 months. And a special agreement with the CSFR enables its citizens to work for no more than 2 days a week in FRG border regions.

I think that it is time for the relevant departments in our country to study questions concerning entry into the FRG and job placement for Soviet citizens. The experience of Polish-German relations on these questions may prove useful. Given the present difficulties, the problem of visa-free travel for our countries' citizens will arise sooner or later. At the moment USSR citizens in the FRG have absolutely no rights when it comes to job placement, insurance, and medical help. Meanwhile, the number of trips to the FRG is increasing. Last year alone, 843,000 Soviet citizens went to Germany.

This applies not only to the Soviet side but also to the German side which, for various reasons, is in no hurry to resolve the questions that arise. It would be good for Soviet people to be given the green light on the Oder and for our citizens here to be in no worse a position than that of citizens of other European countries.

Delegation Seeks European Goods on Credit

91UF0643A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by A. Protsenko: "How Foreign Countries Are Going to Help Us"]

[Text] **We learned that in a very few days USSR Minister of Trade K. Terekh, Deputy Minister S. Sarukhanov, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Deputy Minister of Trade V. Tikhonov, All-Union Raznoeksport Association General Manager Yu. Kostrov, and USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity Department Manager A. Osiptsev, together with a group of aides and specialists, are going on a business trip to six countries of Western Europe.**

In Italy, France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands they will try to sign as many contracts as they can to have consumer goods supplied to the USSR. The 5 March decision of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers serves as the foundation for this action. The decision says: "Permit the USSR Ministry of Trade to receive directed commercial credits to the sum of up to 1 billion rubles [R], with the installment term from two to five years..."

"We have a basic agreement with a number of major Western firms and banks on such commercial credits," said A. Ivanov, USSR Ministry of Trade foreign relations administration chief. "We have either prepared or discussed many contracts with such firms as Eniko, David, and Rabbat of France, Salamander of Germany, Adzhimpeks and Mona Liza of Italy, Barukh of the Netherlands, etc. [names of all firms as transliterated] In other words, it is not going to be a pleasure trip or a "long shot"—maybe somebody will give us something (as many people still see our work)—but it is going to be a business trip entirely aimed at signing many important agreements and contracts. But, of course, we will learn how successful the trip was only after the delegation comes back."

Well, let us do a preliminary estimate of what we can expect from this "commercial voyage" of the highest level. It is especially interesting because until now it was sufficient to send lower ranking officials on similar operations.

First, the money allocation. One billion hard currency rubles is not a small sum. If we go by the official course, it is almost $1.5 billion. Two years ago, the government allocated, as required by the Union parliament, $500 million for additional purchases of consumer goods from other countries. As a result, at that time our trade received additional goods to the sum of 10 billion "wooden" rubles in retail prices. In other words, every wholesale/purchase dollar became 20 retail rubles on our store shelves. True, these were additional purchases,

when they were buying commodities in especially short supply. Such commodities bring the most profit when sold on the domestic market. Planned imports are less profitable. Last year, for instance, the profitability of centralized purchases of manufactured goods was considerably lower: On average, every dollar spent abroad brought only six "wooden" rubles after the domestic sales.

But the allocated billion and a half is considered to be an additional allocation; besides the goods will sell at new prices, so we can expect that our stores will get extra goods to the sum of about R25 to R30 billion in retail prices. It is almost one-fourth of the entire existing trade inventory.

What do our merchants want to buy in other countries this time? They have made rather extensive lists: footwear, women's pantyhose and children's tights, various clothing (tailored and knitwear), synthetic detergents, soap, toothpaste, razor blades and shaving cream, various haberdashery, and tobacco products.

But this is our wish list. Had the Soviet merchants gone to the world market with their pockets full of hard currency, they could have dictated their conditions to the sellers. But this time all purchases will be made on commercial credits. Even without these our country has become indebted to everyone possible and impossible. We also have already managed to show ourselves as unreliable debtors. So, the possibility cannot be excluded that this time we will not be able to buy what we need and as much as we need but we will get whatever someone would still want to sell to us on credit.

Finally: Several days ago, on 6 April, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers issued another decision which allows the USSR Ministry of Trade to buy food from other countries also. Again they allocate a billion of hard currency rubles for this and again they are putting it on directed commercial credits.

To sum it up, let us wait till 28 April, when the delegation headed by K. Terekh returns from Europe. Then it will become clearer what kinds of consumer goods we will get this year. After that it will be the turn for food purchases. IZVESTIYA will do its best to provide detailed information to our readers about all of this.

Prospects for Broader Soviet-Greek Ties Eyed

PM1704130991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Apr 91 Union Edition p 5

[Correspondent A. Nikolayev report: "USSR-Greece: Potential for Cooperation"]

[Text] Athens—USSR Foreign Minister A. Bessmertnykh has concluded his visit to Greece. One of its chief results is the finalization of the text of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, which has been initialed by the head of Soviet diplomacy and his Greek colleague A. Samaras. This fundamental document, which opens a new chapter in the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Greece, will be signed during the official visit to Moscow by K. Mitsotakis, the Greek head of government, scheduled for this year.

Two intergovernmental agreements have also been concluded in Athens: on preventing incidents on the open sea and avoiding dual taxation of incomes and property. A wide range of bilateral relations was examined during the talks, and a number of specific areas for further broadening their treaty-legal basis was outlined.

During Bessmertnykh's visit both sides repeatedly emphasized that our relations are not only not burdened by any accretions from the past but, on the contrary, are underpinned by centuries-old joint historical experience enriched by spiritual and cultural commonality. And this priceless capital has been realized far from fully, above all in the sphere of economic cooperation.

The realization of such large-scale projects as the construction of a main gas pipeline (deliveries of natural gas via it from the USSR are to begin in 1993) and also of an alumina plant on Greek territory with the Soviet Union's participation requires that new, unusual solutions and forms of cooperation be attained. As well as, incidentally, the creation of joint ventures, including medium-sized and small ones, with due regard for the considerable experience of Greek business in this sphere. The establishment of direct economic ties between Greece and Black Sea regions of the USSR appears very promising. All this will undoubtedly be promoted by the creation of a Soviet-Greek Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

On the eve of Bessmertnykh's visit to Athens I managed to talk with S. Dhimas, minister of industry, energy, and technology, who had returned from Moscow. He mentioned a whole range of interesting ideas and projects which he had discussed with his Soviet colleagues. These included the creation of joint ventures, and not just in the Soviet Union or Greece but also in third countries (including construction firms geared to the Near East market) and the development of tourism, which brings in currency. The minister expressed the Greek side's readiness to make available grants and the possibility of studying on specialized courses for Soviet businessmen who are beginning work in small and supersmall ventures.

K. Mikhanitsidhis, chairman of the Greek "East-West" Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce, believes that the overwhelming majority of Greek entrepreneurs see the tremendous potential of the Soviet market. But, as yet, far from all are in a hurry to invest their money. The economic difficulties which our country is experiencing, the inconvertibility of the ruble, and the fact that the legal basis of the new forms of cooperation has not been elaborated all leave their mark.

However, both the USSR and Greece have an interest in arranging a new level of cooperation geared to the long term. The Soviet foreign minister's visit to Athens gives the go-ahead for this.

Patriarch Aleksiy Visits Istanbul, Departs 17 Apr

LD1704212991 Moscow TASS in English 2100 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Axer Dzhangirov]

[Text] Istanbul April 17 TASS—Patriarch Aleksiy II of Moscow and All Russia, who was in Istanbul on an official visit from April 12 to 17 at the invitation of Archbishop Dimitrios I of Constantinople-New Rome and ecumenical patriarch, left for Moscow on Wednesday.

"The visit to Istanbul and negotiations with leaders of the Constantinople Patriarchate convinced us of the necessity to develop bilateral ties and expand cooperation between churches to achieve all-Orthodox unity as a guarantee of all-Christian unity," Aleksiy told TASS.

"We agreed to continue the dialogue with Dimitrios the First on a wide range of issues, including the preservation of Christian sacred things in the sacred land, relations with the Rome Catholic Church in connection with the growing influence and pressure of the Uniate Church, and some others," Aleksiy said.

"We reached a complete understanding on urgent issues, including the promotion and preservation of peace and harmony in our country, as well as issues relating to the dissentient activity of the so-called 'Russian Foreign Church'," he said.

In a joint communique, Aleksiy and Dimitrios stressed that the visit by the delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church to Istanbul was marked by an atmosphere of fraternal love and mutual understanding in the interest of all Orthodox churches.

Aleksiy invited Dimitrios to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was cordially accepted.

This was the first official visit by the head of the Russian Orthodox Church to a foreign country since his election as patriarch of Moscow and All Russia last July.

Supreme Soviet

Moscow Television Details 17 Apr Proceedings

LD1704211991

Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian at 1900 GMT on April carries a one-hour "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Session" program featuring recorded excerpts of the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin on 17 April. The Soviets of the Union and Nationalities met in seperate sessions.

The Soviet of the Union session is reported first. The session is addressed by USSR Procurator General Trubin. He says that the war of laws must stop, and goes on to outline the functions of the Procuracy in today's conditions. The Procuracy has general oversight functions on an all-Union level. Sometimes applications to the various branches of the Procuracy meet with less than total success. Laws should be equally observed throughout the USSR, he notes. Procuracy staff must often travel to potentially dangerous areas and in difficult conditions, he says, and adds: Poor pay leads to high staff turnover. These problems must be resolved, he thinks, otherwise the Procuracy will become starved of qualified staff. Therefore, he recommends the draft law that is to be discussed at today's sitting.

A deputy questions the wording of the draft law as applied to the differing conditions in different republics. Trubin offers clarification, making the point that no additional procurators will be required. The improvements he has in mind to improve conditions will cost 80 million rubles a year.

Another unidentified deputy asks about the differentiation of procuratorial powers between the republics and the center, and between Moscow and the RSFSR. Trubin spells out the differentiation of powers, concluding that, as long as the war of laws continues, there will inevitably be conflict between the powers of USSR and republican procurators.

Deputy Semenko, a member of the Committee for Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, reports on the committee's findings, making the point that the USSR Procuracy has the duty to ensure precise and uniform enforcement of all-Union laws in all republics. She goes on to express the committee's support for Trubin's proposals.

Laptev, who is presiding, announces that the time for debate has arrived, and calls for speakers. A deputy says that the poor economic situation is conducive to the general breakdown of law and order. It follows that action must be directed primarily toward rectifying the country's economy. He points to the lax control exercised by the Supreme Soviet over the law enforcement agencies. Abuses are common and often go unpunished, he contends, and complaints take ages to get anywhere.

Deputy Salykov criticizes the ineffective enforcement of laws. There is no clear-cut picture of law enforcement throughout the country. The USSR Supreme Soviet must be active in this field, he notes, and says trade is a prime example. Prices are rocketing, but little action is taken to ensure legality. Privatization also offers rich pickings for the unscrupulous. Turning to another aspect, he says that a new environmental protection section should be created and attached to the USSR Procuracy. He goes on to illustrate the need for such a section.

The announcer summarizes the later proceedings, saying, the draft law on the procuracy was approved, as were international agreements on medical provision for citizens temporarily living abroad and Soviet adhesion to the Hague Convention.

Deputy Mokanu presents a draft appeal about holding a subbotnik [unpaid workday] on Lenin's birthday. The appeal is endorsed.

At 1948 GMT the announcer then turns to the Soviet of Nationalities, at which the same issues were debated and where they gave rise to animated discussion. A male deputy speaks about the need for the state to ensure protection of its citizens' 'egal rights. Another deputy talks about the Procuracy's duty to promote protection of the environment. Another deputy makes detailed comments about the text of the draft law on the procuracy. A deputy says that the Procuracy must take legal action against any official who refuses to comply with its stipulations.

The announcer then states that ten other deputies spoke. The draft law on the Procuracy was passed by the Soviet of Nationalities with the same amendments as in the Soviet of the Union, the announcer notes, adding that the appeal on the subbotnik was also adopted. He concludes, saying that 18 April proceedings will take place in committees and permanent commissions.

Further on Procuracy Role Discussion

LD1704111991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent Vadim Perfilyev on 17 April meeting of USSR Supreme Soviet chambers in Moscow]

[Text] The chambers are meeting in separate sessions today. This morning the Soviet of the Union has been working and a decision has just been adopted, with amendments and supplements, on urgent measures to heighten the role of the procuracy to strengthen democracy in the country. A report on the question was delivered today by Nikolay Semenovich Trubin, procurator general of the USSR, and a co-report was given by Valentina Ivanovna Semenko, deputy chairperson of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Legislation, Law, and Order.

The report by the USSR procurator general noted that legal bodies are now being destroyed and that the procuracy system is collapsing. The sovereignty declared by the republics has led to a war of laws and the nonfulfilment of laws in the localities. The USSR procurator general thinks there is a need for intervention by the Supreme Soviet so that republican legislation on the procuracy should follow the single application of laws in the country.

Concern was noted at the fact that 20 percent of the procurators and investigators have left the procuracy bodies over the last two years, and of course specific measures need to be taken here. We will speak in later newscasts about what measures will be taken, but for now I will just remind you that the same question will be examined in the evening session by the Soviet of Nationalities.

Panel Cited on Northern Test Site, Future

PM1804122791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Apr 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Our Digest" report: "What Is Being Said, What Is Being Written..."]

[Text] The following is an extract from information given to USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Lukyanov by the State Military-Industrial Commission:

"...In light of the safety measures being taken the holding of underground nuclear tests at the northern test site is not affecting the radiation situation in the territory of the test site or, moreover, in the areas adjacent to it. This is confirmed by the results of systematic observations in this region by the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology. Even in the period of atmospheric nuclear tests carried out in 1955-1962 the content of radioactive substances in the air, ground, and water in the regions of the Far North did not exceed the permitted norms. By now the concentration of these substances has decreased and is tending to decrease further. Measurements of the test site's radiation status carried out with the participation of people's deputies from the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Arkhangelsk Oblast Soviet following the 24 October 1990 underground nuclear explosion did not establish a change in the natural environment.

"...The USSR Government draft resolution 'On Measures Associated With Holding Underground Nuclear Tests' provides for the allocation to the USSR Ministry of Defense in 1991-1992 of appropriate quotas of state centralized capital investments for the preparation and holding of nuclear tests, the construction of housing and social amenities, and other essential work at the northern test site."

(This information was circulated at the USSR Supreme Soviet.)

Pugo Cited on Moves To Counter Armed Formations

PM1704105191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

["Our Digest" feature comprising extract from letter from USSR Internal Affairs Minister B. Pugo to USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Lukyanov, under headline: "What People Say, What People Write..."]

[Text] "In connection with criticisms of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] at the USSR Supreme Soviet with regard to the current arming of illegal formations in the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics and Moldova, we consider it necessary to inform you that the USSR MVD is counteracting this process...

"At the same time the Governments of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldova, Armenia, and Georgia, by changing the structures of internal affairs organs and adopting decisions which run counter to Union legislation, are trying to remove them from the USSR MVD's jurisdiction and to establish control over their activity on the part of various militarized formations to which the functions of law-enforcement and customs organs, security functions, and also functions of a defense nature are being transferred. To prevent militarized subunits from taking possession of arms, in 1990 the USSR MVD removed 37,900 weapons beyond what is authorized, weapons not assigned to personnel, and emergency supply weapons from the aforementioned republics' internal affairs organs, including 14,700 units from the Baltic republics' MVD's, 13,800 in the Transcaucasus, and 9,400 in Moldova. The supply of automatic weapons to these organs has been stopped, and the supply of ammunition from USSR MVD funds has been limited.

"We believe that it is expedient in the future to supply the republics' internal affairs organs with material and technical resources, including arms, from the USSR MVD's centralized funds with due regard for the operational situation and the specific relations taking shape with each republic..."

(The letter was disseminated at the USSR Supreme Soviet as an official document).

Paper on Chernobyl Resolution Debate 11 Apr

PM1704152991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1-2

[Legislative correspondents A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev report from the Kremlin: "Deputies Evaluate Chernobyl Tragedy"]

[Text] In the USSR Supreme Soviet 10 April the committees and commissions were at work. The preceding joint sitting resulted in the adoption of a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution, the approval of a draft law at its first reading, and the agreement of the legislature to appoint

two more government members. O. Soskovets was confirmed as USSR minister of metallurgy, and G. Stroganov was appointed chairman of the USSR State Committee for Machine Building. The resolution and draft law are devoted to the problems of eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe. We dealt with the beginning of their discussion in a previous report.

The USSR draft law on social protection for citizens affected by radiation as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station], elaborated by the Cabinet of Ministers and presented by B. Gubanov, deputy chairman of the State Commission on Emergency Situations, defines the status of territories contaminated by radioactive pollution, the procedure for safeguarding life on those territories, and also the categories of citizens to whom the law extends and establishes the appropriate level of benefits for each category.

The discussion was difficult. The situation is complex because the draft law has been submitted to the Union legislature for discussion at a time when similar laws have already been adopted in the Ukraine and Belorussia. In the opinion of the government, a centralized solution to the problem is expedient.

The draft law applies to over 4.8 million citizens. Evaluations show that the cost of compensation payments to inhabitants of the contaminated regions will come to approximately 2.5 billion rubles [R] a year. Total expenditure according to the draft law is R3.5 billion. Yet the state union-republic program envisages allocating an average of R1.1 billion a year for these purposes. Consequently, nearly R2.5 billion more will have to be found somewhere.

Discussion of the USSR Supreme Soviet draft resolution on the progress in fulfilling the unified program to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl accident and the draft law on social protection for citizens affected by radiation as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES proceeded simultaneously. Deputies A. Karpov, Yu. Voronezhtsev, A. Penyagin, M. Dzhumatova, I. Luchenok, and others, who participated in the debates, as a whole supported both draft documents. Many speakers, however, proposed that the word "accident" which appears in the draft title be replaced by "catastrophe" and that the differences between the draft law and the republic laws should be erased.

The course for implementing the program to eliminate the consequences [of the accident] was also analyzed by representatives of three republic governments—Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia. Thus, K. Masik, deputy chairman of the Ukraine Council of Ministers, drew the deputies' attention to the fact that up to now the question of predicting nuclear safety at the station has not been resolved. The sarcophagus is only a temporary solution. He announced that there are 185 tonnes of nuclear fuel under the reactor's ruins. The Ukrainian Government representative categorically opposed the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation's proposal to bury the sarcophagus on the site. The republic's problems with temporary "graves" where hundreds of thousands of tonnes of nuclear waste are buried are bad enough without that. There is a real threat of soil and subsoil waters being polluted. The speaker announced that concentrations of radionuclides along the whole of the Dnepr, right up to the Black Sea, are elevated.

Deputy V. Yavorivskiy, another Ukrainian representative, sharply criticized the provision in the draft law transferring the contaminated zone to Union government jurisdiction. He stated that if the republic law is not financed the Ukraine will withhold R4.5 billion from the Union budget. The deputy stressed that this decision was adopted by the republic legislature where there is a Communist majority.

The legislators adopted a document on the progress in implementing the USSR Supreme Soviet 25 April 1990 resolution right at the beginning of the evening sitting. The draft law was also approved on its first reading. It was decided to speed up its elaboration as much as possible so that it might be adopted if possible within the next two weeks. It is possible that the new law's appearance will be timed to coincide with the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl tragedy.

In the time that remained the deputies continued the discussion on a draft resolution on urgent measures to halt the spread of pornography and the cult of violence and cruelty. Many graphic and passionate speeches were heard, including ones from Deputies B. Oleynik and V. Rasputin. All the speakers stressed the acuteness and importance of the problems under discussion, but it was decided to carry the final adoption of the resolution over to the next joint sitting, which will take place 12 April.

According to tradition, the deputies' "leg stretch" was moved to the final part of the sitting. Here, traditionally, one often hears interesting speeches which have nothing to do with the agenda. Just such a speech was delivered 9 April by Deputy E. Pamfilova, representative of the legislative commission on questions of privileges and benefits. In fact, it was a request to provide time at one of the sittings for the commission to be able at last to report on the results of its work. So far there has been no such opportunity, the deputy noted. By way of proving that the commission has something to say, E. Pamfilova told her colleagues of one particular study of the uses of USSR Defense Ministry transport aircraft, compiled by the commission members in collaboration with the USSR People's Control Committee.

The commission came to the conclusion that the procedure in the country's Defense Ministry for the use of transport aircraft does not comply with the demands of the government or USSR Defense Ministry orders. The practice of using private aircraft to transport leading Army and Navy personnel to various meetings and of using service aircraft to convey the wives and relatives of

commanders is very widespread. As a result, efficiency in the use of aircraft and helicopters is extremely low. On average, Tu-134 and Tu-154 aircraft are only loaded to between 10 and 20 percent capacity. On investigation, it became clear that approximately 5,000 flying hours had been used for empty flights, which cost the state over R15 million. Other similar facts were disclosed.

In response to this speech, Deputy S. Umalatova called upon her colleagues not to alarm society, not to involve the Defense Ministry, and not to get bogged down in such trivia. It would be better to introduce order in the country, said the deputy, and then we can look at who should or should not be granted privileges.

Supreme Soviet Aide on Publishing Laws, Acts

PM1804085791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

["From Competent Sources" report by I. Bunin, head of a USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat department: "Where Laws Are Published"]

[Text] Even specialists today hardly have time to keep up with all the legislative acts which the Union parliament adopts, not to mention republic ones. And yet many of these acts directly affect millions of people, and even every citizen. Readers frequently put questions to the editorial office: Where is the text of a law to be found when it comes into force?

I. Bunin, head of a USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat department, replies.

I wish to remind you: One of the first laws to be adopted by the new USSR Supreme Soviet back in July 1989 was the Law "On the Procedure for Publishing and Enacting USSR Laws and Other Acts Adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Their Organs."

According to this, USSR laws and other acts must be published no later than seven days after they are adopted. The enactment of laws was made directly dependent on their publication. The only exception is for certain acts which are not of general significance. They may be sent, without publication, to the corresponding state organs and public organizations. But here too substantial amendments have been made in the direction of glasnost. In accordance with the conclusion of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee of 29 November 1990, all normative acts on citizens' rights, freedoms, and duties must be published, otherwise they lose juridical force.

Where, then, are state acts published? The aforementioned law defined two publications above all. They are the newspaper IZVESTIYA SOVETOV NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV SSSR and the journal VEDOMOSTI SYEZDA NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV SSSR I VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR. State acts may be published in other press organs and made public on television and radio. **But their texts are official only in IZVESTIYA and VEDOMOSTI.**

Political & Social

TASS on Dissident Bukovskiy's News Conference

LD1704194591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Apr (TASS)—A news conference today by former dissident Vladimir Bukovskiy, who today lives in Great Britain, became an exhortation on anticommunism.

Bukovskiy, exchanged in 1976 for the leader of Chile's Communists, Louis Corvalan, arrived last Monday in the USSR on a private visit at the invitation of activists of he "Democratic Russia" movement.

The former dissident, it would appear, decided to speak before journalists simultaneously in the roles of prophet and judge of his former homeland. Many indignant words were addressed in the direction of President Mikhail Gorbachev and the entire USSR government. In Bukovskiy's words, the present leaders of the country see their task "not in giving the people freedom, democracy, and a market economy, but in preserving and renewing socialism."

Bukovskiy predicts for the Soviet Union "Famine of Ethiopian proportions and a Lebanese-style civil war."

Answering correspondents' questions, Vladimir Bukovskiy said he is put on his guard by the slogan of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, Georgia's President, "Georgia for Georgians." In Bukovskiy's view, "a number of elements in the political line" of the Georgian president "are very reminiscent of fascism."

He also stated that although he has not succeeded in meeting in Moscow with Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic supreme soviet, he "is ready to cooperate with him."

Pavlov Views London Visit, Development Bank

LD1704202591 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov, asked upon his return from London to Moscow today to comment on the results of his visit to London and the participation in the opening of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, pointed to two principal points.

First of all he said, the Soviet Union for the first time joined an international financial organisation as a full fledged member. In this connection the prime minister recalled the history of relations between the Soviet Union and the International Monetary Fund. The Soviet

Union was one of the founders of that organisation and initialled all its documents but at the very last moment refused to join the organisation. As a result much was lost.

The significance of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Pavlov said, is confirmed by the fact that not only European countries but also Japan, the United States and South Korea have decided to join it.

Another aspect of joining the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Pavlov pointed out, is connected with the complicated situation in the Soviet Union. This is linked in many respects with foreign relations, first of all with supplies of many kinds of raw materials which run against the credit blockade or revocation of credits.

"We cannot solve a number of problems at present because the restriction on credits does not permit us to obtain raw materials for the light, textile and other industries. All this, naturally, affects the work of enterprises and people's living conditions. The situation can be changed only through interaction, to say nothing about the international division of labour, which is one of the ways of raising its efficiency," Pavlov stressed.

The Soviet prime minister specially noted that the heads of state and government of many countries assembled in London to attend the opening of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. This provided an opportunity to discuss many problems of inter-state relations in an informal atmosphere. It was possible to set out and coordinate solutions and look for compromise solutions. In this respect, the meeting in London provided exceptional possibilities for opening up ways towards the practical solution of many problems.

As regards prospects for cooperation with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the prime minister said they were fairly good.

This bank, he said, is unique, as there are no other organisations in the world which aim to render assistance, including to the Soviet Union. Because of this, the opportunity should be used with full intensity, the prime minister said.

Further on Pavlov's Return

LD1704185791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network 1600 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] USSR Prime Minister Pavlov returned to Moscow from London today. The head of the Soviet government visited the British capital to take part in the official opening of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD]—the new international financial organization aimed at assisting the transition of the East European countries and the Soviet Union to the ways of the market economy. Answering on his arrival a TASS correspondent's questions on prospects for cooperation with the EBRD, Pavlov assessed them as rather good. This bank, he said, is unique in its nature in the sense that it is intended for helping the restructuring of the economy of the East European countries and the Soviet Union. There are simply no other such financial institutions in the world aimed at offering help to the Soviet Union, among others. Therefore we should use the given opportunity as intensively as possible, the prime minister said.

Yanayev Speaks to Conference on World War II

LD1604221591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent A. Ilyichev. From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] An international conference entitled, 1941-1945: The lessons of war and the present-day world, opened in Moscow today.

[Ilyichev] This year marks the 50th anniversary of the start of this war, which was so tragic for many peoples of the world. Much as been written and said about it. However, the events of those years again and again draw the attention of the world public. Historians social scientists and religious figures from the USSR, FRG, the countries of East Europe and also China and Mongolia are taking part in the conference.

USSR Vice President Yanayev took part in the opening of the conference.

[Begin Yanayev recording] Time has arranged things in such a way that it is precisely now that the profound changes that have taken place as a result of the Second World War have become more understood. The outcome of the war was the crushing defeat of the aggressor and changes in the arrangement and correlation of forces in favor of democracy. It is precisely this outcome that shattered the myth of the whole power of militarism and showed the foolishness and sense of doom of solving international problems by force. [end recording]

[Ilyichev] During the discussion the participants in the conference intend to analyze the sources of the war in a deliberately critically way and to reassess the period of postwar development through the prism of today, and also exchange opinions on problems connected with building a peaceful future.

CPSU Committee Secretaries Appeal to Citizens

LD1604170291 Moscow TASS in English 1544 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—An appeal to citizens of the country was adopted in Smolensk at a meeting of representatives of hero cities—secretaries of the Soviet Communist Party Committees of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Brest, Volgograd, Kerch, Murmansk, Novorossiisk, Odessa, Sevastopol, Smolensk and Tula.

"Our motherland is in danger. Throughout its history it has been unsuccessfully attacked by external forces more

than once. Some are now attempting to force us to make it crumble. The dirtiest gimmicks are being used. Some are trying to deprive us of our history and memory, to set us against each other according to ethnicity, seek to deaden our feelings of comradeliness and justice, love for the motherland and a sense of duty to it. We are being told that we live a lie... The aim of the people behind these efforts is obvious. They want the state, which formed over centuries, to disintegrate.

"They wish to destroy our moral traditions and mode of life, to subject us to economic and social experiments leading to a capitalist society. A handful of people who try to pass themselves off as democrates wish to satisfy their thirst for power and gain", the appeal says.

"We shall continue to rely on patriotism and unity of soviet people in an effort to overcome a most difficult political, social and economic crisis of our country.

"In the run-up to the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Great Patriotic War we want all Soviet people to realise that every inch of our land is drenched with sweat and blood, and that everything created by the people cost them dearly".

The appeal urges all Communists, all patriotic forces of the country to attack chaos and disorder, assert peace and concord and work towards the creative and spiritual rebirth of society.

Call To Salvage Lenin From 'Destructive' Forces

PM1704160791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent V. Gerasimov report: "The Truth About Lenin"]

[Text] Leningrad, 16 Apr—"From Myths and Falsifications Toward the Historical Truth"—this was the motto beneath which a scientific-theoretical conference devoted to V.I. Lenin's personality was held today in the sociopolitical center of the oblast CPSU committee. The unique nature of the present political situation in the country—when destructive elements have staged a veritable sabbat around the name of Vladimir Ilich, such as not even the most serious ill-wishers of the leader of the October Revolution could have imagined, still less permitted themselves—requires a serious in-depth analysis of all the facts from the outstanding personality's biography and activity in the context of the historical epoch.

Antisocialist forces are now seeking to blacken and overturn the very memory of Lenin, it was said at the conference. Social scientists, above all, are called upon to prevent this, for they are equal to the task of creating a complete biography of Vladimir Ilich, an organizer of genius and a man not devoid of weakness and inner contradictions and doubts—a biography based on documents and without omissions and embellishments. The lies about V.I. Lenin currently being disseminated in so-called "independent publications" are like a putrid infection, because society, which has been plunged into an abyss of confusion and disasters, does not possess immunity against it. The only means of protection is to know the truth which has not been distorted by interpreters.

Issues Regarding Law on Entry, Exit Viewed

LD1604172191 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 16 Apr 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Lyudmila Alexandrova]

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—"About six million Soviet citizens theoretically regard the adoption by the Soviet parliament of the law on entry and exit as opening to them an opportunity to work abroad. This is demonstrated by surveys conducted by social scientists," Anatoliy Chernyshov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labour and Social Issues, told TASS.

"But this opportunity exists only in theory, because the majority of them do not even imagine the real requirements and the iron discipline of the Western labour market," Chernyshov stressed. "The more real figure is from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 people, mostly youth. But here, too, there is plenty of 'noes'."

Only recently, Western newspapers portrayed in profusion the dramatic pictures of the influx of millions of Soviet migrants who are fleeing to prosperous Scandinavia or, for instance, Switzerland for fear of hunger. The West awaited with shudder the adoption of the law on entry and exit and feverishly calculated how much will the lifting of the iron curtain, which it was seeking for so many years, will cost to it. Many West European countries made amendments to their legislation, significantly restricting chances for Soviet citizens to enter them for residence and work.

Are the fears over the mighty stream of Russian migrants justified? "Some figures cited in Western sources are simply shocking. I think that apocalyptic pictures of the invasion of 'millions of Hungry Russians' were drawn to influence lawmakers to toughen laws," Chernyshov said.

Chernyshov believes that when the law on entry and exit is adopted—the Soviet parliament approved only its first reading and sent it for additional study—only restrictions that are regulated by international law will remain on the path of Soviet citizens leaving their country for permanent residence abroad.

They concern, for instance, people who possess information considered to be state secrets, people who are serving their prison terms, etc. But there are few such people. However, real complications of the organisational and technical nature are bound to arise: printing and issuing passports, handling the transport problem and tightening customs regulations. All this will require huge funds. The most real restriction is the shortage of currency.

Most countries demand that immigrants present a certain sum upon entering their country. But few Soviet citizens can acquire currency at the auction rate of 27.4 roubles to the dollar.

It will likewise be difficult to get a permission to work abroad. Before sending an invitation, a foreign businessman should prove that he cannot find the needed specialist on the local labour market. Few Soviet citizens can hope for this, because bilateral agreements to recognise Soviet diplomas have not yet been concluded.

However, there is the real danger of illigal migration. There have already been such cases—primarily through the channels of the tourist exchange. Without having a permission for hired work, Soviet citizens manage to find an illegal unskilled work for a meagre pay. This is called a social damping and represents unlawlessness. The only way to combat it is to create well- regulated official channels of migration.

Chernyshov describes as "causing regret" the stance by those Western partners, who have been waging for many years the struggle for freedom of exit for Soviet people and now that this freedom was granted zealously taking measures to fend off the wave of Soviet immigration.

"We regard these moves as a discriminative measure towards our citizens. If restrictive measures are tightened, the idea of a common European home and a common European social space, where people can move unimpeded, will just not be realised," Chernyshov believes.

MVD Reports 540,000 Emigrated During 1990

LD1804091491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0659 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 Apr (TASS)—According to USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] figures, 452,000 persons left the country in the year 1990; 54 percent were women, and 29.2 percent children under 18 years of age, the sociopolitical weekly GLASNOST reports today. Among them, blue-collar workers numbered 30 percent, white-collar workers 35 percent, and retirees and other nonworking persons 30 percent. The largest number of emigres are from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic—103,600, and the Ukraine—95,300; and the smallest number are from Estonia—only 892 persons. Forty percent of all those leaving Russia are residents of Moscow and Leningrad and its oblast.

Of the total number of emigres, nearly 60 percent went to Israel and 2.9 percent went to the United States. A large number of former Soviet citizens went to Germany—31.3 percent, and Greece—5.3 percent.

PRAVDA Corrects Ministerial Appointees Names

PM1804084591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA "Correction"]

[Text] An error was made in our newspaper of 10 April in the information about decrees on the appointment of USSR ministers. It should have read: Salambek Naibovich Khadzhiyev and Oleg Georgiyevich Anfimov. The editorial office offers its apologies.

Economic

Steel Production Nears Halt Due to Miners Strike

LD1804101891 Moscow TASS in English 1009 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow April 18 TASS—Shortages of coking coal due to the continuing miners' strike have put the Soviet steel industry on the verge of halting production and brought social tensions to near boiling point.

Two blast furnaces at the Novolipetsk metallurgical plant have already been shut down, setting off a chain reaction in other industries.

Several more mines went on strike in Donbass and in all 37 collieries of the 122 in Donbass were striking on Tuesday, compared to 19-20 last week.

The Donbasskabel plant and several shops in the Makeev metallurgical plant, too, went on strike.

Workers at a cotton factory in Donetsk downed tools in solidarity with Donbass miners. They fully supported the miners' political and economic demands and demanded that their plant become economically independent.

Kuzbass residents' opinion on the one-and-a-half-month-long miners' strike varies from full support to flat rejection, today's TRUD writes, commenting on the strike.

The showdown is fatal for the entire country, the newspaper said.

Forty-seven mines out of 76 were on strike on Tuesday.

The Central Council of the Coal Industry Workers' Trade Union expressed alarm over the mounting confrontation in society and the Soviet leadership's tough stand on the miners' demands in a statement to President Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet Parliament, published in today's newspapers.

The council offered two ways out of the crisis—to hold an emergency congress of Soviet people's deputies to consider workers' political demands, including a general election of the USSR president, or central authorities and republican leaders sit down at a round table for talks on a settlement of the crisis.

Otherwise, a catastrophe is imminent, the statement said.

Twelve of the 13 mines in Vorkuta are closed. A city-wide rally was held in Vorkuta on Wednesday night. At the initiative of workers of the Promyshlennaya mine,

the rally passed a resolution demanding that the Soviet Government stops increasing prices on food and consumer goods.

Miners in the Pechora coal basin said they wanted to be under the jurisdiction of Russian authorities.

Metal Industries Affected

LD1704143491 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeny Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk April 17 TASS—A new up-to-date oxygen-converter shop at the Magnitogorsk metallurgical complex, worth almost 400 million roubles, was able to operate for only three months. It is now idle due to a shortage of pig iron, caused by systematic failures of Kuzbass miners to supply coking coal to the plant.

Three Magnitogorsk blast furnaces had to be stopped for repairs simultaneously for the first time in the plant's history. The remaining ones can hardly keep the powerful open-hearth furnaces going.

The commissioning of the oxygen-converter shop marked the beginning of a programme to switch the plant over to modern technologies and thereby improve the environment. Magnitogorsk air has now become cleaner, but not due to up-to-date processes. This is explained by the dropping output of badly needed metal.

Losses Hold Up Harvest Machinery

PM1704143391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under general headline: "Chronicle of Strike Losses"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building has reported to the editorial office a shortfall of 93,000 tonnes of pig iron and 52,000 tonnes of coke in the sector during the first quarter, because of which the iron-casting plan was wrecked. There is now a shortage of 160,000 tonnes of cast iron. This means that the production of 57,000 trucks of various makes, 3,500 tractors, and 4,000 Don-1500 combines, without which the sowing campaign is jeopardized, will be held up.

350 Enterprises, Mines on Strike Nationwide

LD1704120191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] One of the central topics of the day is the miners' strike. Here are several reports on this. As the Russian Information Agency has reported, the Independent Miners' Trade Union and the Interregional Coordinating Council of Workers' Strike Committees' have issued an appeal to the supreme soviets, governments, and popular movements of sovereign republics. The appeal reads, inter alia: The political, economic, and social processes in the USSR are currently not under the control of the Union structures of power. The interference on the part of the unitary center only exacerbates the situation each and every time.

The Union of Cooperative Workers and other nonstate USSR enterprises have issued an appeal to the enterpreneurs of the Soviet Union in which they are called upon to render passive assistance to the striking miners and their families. The appeal stresses that the strike campaign being waged by the miners represents a most powerful means of opposing the government's policy, which leads to an economic and social collapse.

According to reports from the Uralinform Information Agency, those employed in the town's motor vehicle and tractor depot, as well as the mine construction directorates No. 1 and No. 3, joined the striking Severouralsk miners the day before yesterday.

According to data from the Interregional Coordinating Council of Workers' Strike Committees, more than 350 enterprises and mines are on strike in the country. By way of comparison, 200 mines and enterprises were on strike on 9 April.

As the BBC notes, new enterprises joined the strike yesterday. Four more mines went on strike in Sakhalin, the same number in Makeyevka, and several mines and enterprises in Sverdlovsk. According to reports from Donetsk, the number of striking mines and allied enterprises topped the 60 mark today. The future of the strikes, notes the BBC commentary, will be decided at rallies due to be held today in Vorkuta, Sverdlovsk, and some other towns. Today will show whether all this turns into an all-Russian strike.

We have received a report through the Ukrainian Interparty Assembly's Information Center: A strike at 12 city enterprises began in Kiev yesterday. Also yesterday, a rally was organized at the Ploshchad Oktyabrskoy Revolyutsii by the city's Strike Committee and the city's democratic forces. The demands put forward at the rally were mainly political in nature. The attempt by communists and the official trade unions to organize a counterrally of workers at the Kiev republican stadium met with failure. In our later bulletin we plan to familiarize you in greater detail with the problems of the strike movement in various regions of the country.

Miners' Union Urges Congress To Solve Situation

LD1704125591 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] The Central Council of the Miners' Trade Union, in a message to the USSR president and the Supreme Soviet, has expressed concern over growing confrontation in society. It says that the number of enterprises in the coal and other branches of the economy [on strike] is growing, while the irreconcilable position of the country's leadership toward the strikers remains unchanged.

In order to overcome the crisis, the Central Council of the Miners' Union proposes convening the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to solve the political demands of the people.

In the meantime the USSR Supreme Soviet has already approved, in the first reading, the draft law prohibiting political strikes in the country.

Miners Propose Talks With Republics

AU1704131291 Paris AFP in English 1240 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, April 17 (AFP)—Striking miners called Wednesday for the parliaments and governments of the Soviet republics to negotiate with them, saying that federal authorities were "paralyzed," the Russian news agency RIA reported.

Organizers of the six-week-old strike proposed the creation of an "inter-regional parliamentary group" including strike representatives and a wide range of political tendencies "in order to take action in view of the paralysis of federal authorities."

"The political, economic and social processes currently occurring in the Soviet Union are not controlled by federal government structures," the organizers said. They added that "the interventions of central authorities have only worsened the situation."

Strikes across the country have spread from the mines to other sectors, particularly the metal industry. The strikers have generally called for increases and indexation of their salaries, but have also put forward political demands, including the resignation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and his government.

The strike movement in the Donbass coal-mining region of the Ukraine has spread to Kiev, the republic's capital, where 15 businesses went on strike Tuesday. The largest company affected was the Leninskill metal works, where 80 per cent of the 8,000 workers walked off the job.

Strike coordinators have not succeeded in organizing a general strike.

Informed sources in Kiev said strike committees appeared to be waiting to see the government's crisis program, to be presented next week.

At Kemerovo, in Siberia's Kuzbass basin, 46 of the 76 mines were still on strike Wednesday, along with six businesses, the Soviet news agency TASS reported.

Unions, Enterprises Reach Strike Agreement

LD1704133391

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1135 GMT on 17 April broadcast a 3-minute report by Aleksandr Baklanov, who says that an agreement has been reached between the Interregional Coordinating Council of Workers' Strike Committees and the Independent Trade Union of Miners of the USSR on the one hand, and the Union of Cooperatives and other nonstate enterprises of the USSR on the other hand, and with the participation of the Interparliamentary Party of Free Labor. Baklanov says that the document, which should have been published today but for some reason was not, states:

"Having discussed, at a joint conference, the political situation in the country and the progress of the political strike, the sides note a coincidence of position on the following questions:

"The political and economic situation in the country has become critical. The causes of the failures in both the economy and in social policy consist of the present government's unwillingness to give up ideological dogmas, the imposition of the idea of socialist choice, and a desire to preserve a monopoly on power over the economy. The political demands of the strikers—the transfer of full legislative power to a representative council of sovereign states, the liquidation of the institution of the presidency at the level of the Union, and the formation of a coalition government of national confidence—are just." They are the only way of getting out of the crisis, Baklanov quotes the document saying in part. Baklanov adds: "The most important part is as follows: The coalminers' strike has been going on for over a month; it cannot be allowed to be stifled. The striking miners who have placed themselves and their families on the verge of hunger must be given moral and material support. The Union of Cooperatives and other nonstate enterprises of the Soviet Union consider that in order to provide effective support for the strikers, more than 100 million rubles is needed."

Baklanov says that the Union of Cooperatives has decided to give this support and to start giving stage-by-stage aid to the families of striking coalminers. "The heads of the Union of Cooperatives and Vneshekonomkooperatsiya [foreign economic cooperative] will in the next few days transfer 10 million rubles to the account of the Independent Trade Union of Miners of the USSR, and will announce this in the press," Baklanov says.

Government, TU Council Fail To Reach Accord

LD1804040991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1547 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 Apr (TASS)—The latest attempt by the government and the USSR trade unions to work out a common program of action has ended in failure. At the meeting of the Cabinet of Ministers which has taken place today with the participation of the leaders of the General Confederation of Trade Unions (GCTU) the plan was to discuss the prospects for the further strengthening and development of constructive cooperation in resolving the most important socio-economic issues in the stabilizing of the national economy. However, serious disagreements between the sides came to light on the urgent problems of the social protection of working people under market conditions.

Vladimir Shcherbakov, the deputy prime minister who was chairing the meeting, made it clear that he was not in agreement with the ultimatum which was put forward at the plenum of the GCTU Council on 10 Apr—giving a three-day period to draw up an agreement for 1991 between the trade union center and the government envisaging their mutual obligations in resolving social problems. In his view, the text of the document proposed by the GCTU experts gives rise to many objections, insofar as it does not correspond to today's situation. Paradoxical as it may seem, noted Vladimir Shcherbakov, it does not take into account one of the main demands of the trade union plenum itself regarding higher pay in the base industries of the national economy by 1.7-2 times, in stages, in connection with the sharp jump in retail prices.

Albert Yakovlev, the deputy chairman of the GCTU, considers, however, that the agreement which includes the demand for the speedy increase in compensation and the introduction of indexation of wages is sufficiently reliable to protect working people from the negative consequences of entrance into the market, and should therefore be signed as soon as possible.

The planned discussion of the government's anti-crisis program was also postponed, although its importance at the present time is obvious: social tension in Soviet society is inexorably increasing as a result of the rise in prices, the persistent shortage of goods and food and the fall in the real value of workers' incomes. The intention is that in the next few days the trade union organizations will prepare their comments on the draft program which will then be examined by the Cabinet of Ministers.

Belorussian Miners Resume Strike Over Pay

LD1704124191 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk April 17 TASS—Work stopped at all four pits in Soligorsk today after miners voted to resume strike action in protest at the management's refusal to pay workers for days on strike.

Aleksander Galkevich, head of the republican strike committee press center, said that miners saw this refusal as victimization for having joined the strike.

Asked by TASS to comment, Belorussia's deputy justice minister Valentin Podgrush said that according to Soviet law during a strike participating workers are not entitled to wages.

Urals Strikers Highlight Political Demands

914F0189A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 11 Apr 91 p 1

[Article by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent Mikhail Popov: "Urals: Who Strikes More?"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk—**The miners of the South Urals continue to strike. The Komsomolskaya, Krasnaya Gornyachka, Baturinskaya, and Kapitalnaya mines are either completely or partially out of operation. The Kulyarskaya and Oktyabrskaya are not delivering coal to consumers. The situation is unstable at other mining enterprises as well.**

The demand for a change in the country's leadership, which the South Urals miners previously did not consider first and foremost, has now become the one and only demand. Why? Miners who represent the region at the negotiations in Moscow have the floor.

E. Kinstler, tunneler at the Komsomolskaya mine:

The political strike is a direct result of the unsatisfactory results of the negotiations. And, accordingly, also lack of faith in the capability of the government to resolve our problems. The resolution on a phased increase in wages is fine only at first glance. The chief nuance is that it operates only on condition of plan fulfillment. Enterprises are knowingly placed in unequal conditions. Those will end up winning who did not stop mining at all. But it will be difficult for those strikers who fought for this resolution: The lost percentages in the plan can no longer be recouped.

V. Somov, tunneler in the Kapitalnaya mine:

I will add that the resolution will work only if the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry mines up to 711 million tons this year. But how is this to be achieved, when we barely bring up 680 million tons, and on top of this we have also been idle for so long? But, in general, it became clear from the very beginning of the negotiations that the strikers can expect nothing, and that, indeed, these were not negotiations, but an actual meeting of the Ministry of the Coal Industry. Directors of enterprises, mine administrations, and chairmen of trade union territorial committees came in large numbers. But as for miners, there were about one or two. And immediately—drop on the table with a bang a draft of dozens of paragraphs prepared beforehand, and under no circumstances deviate.

* * *

And still it is impossible to assert that these statements now fully reflect the mood of the Chelyabinsk coal industry workers. Appeals can also be heard to return to work. Debates have been going on for four days at enterprises and in the miners' coordination council on whether or not to continue the strike, and in what form. Mutual reproaches are being advanced—they say, we have struck more than you, you struck less...

Resolution Extends Benefits to Far North Mines

PM1704153391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading "In the USSR Cabinet of Ministers"]

[Text] The USSR Cabinet of Ministers has adopted a resolution on additional benefits for employees of coal industry enterprises located in Krasnoyarsk Kray and Irkutsk and Kemerovo Oblasts. It has been decided to extend the scope of USSR Cabinet of Ministers Resolution No. 135 of 3 April 1991 to coal industry enterprises located in Kemerovo Oblast as well as in regions of Krasnoyarskiy Kray and Irkutsk Oblast which were not included in the list of Far North regions and equivalent areas which was approved by USSR Cabinet of Ministers Resolution No. 10298 of 10 November 1967 (in the wording of USSR Cabinet of Ministers Resolution No. 12 of 3 January 1983)

Effects of Price Increases Questioned

PM1704145591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Sizov: "Shock Without Therapy"]

[Text] The country's government and leadership are actively promoting the idea that current price increases are a necessary condition for exiting the crisis. They assure us that the new prices are needed in order to boost production, stabilize the consumer market, and reduce subsidies and the budget deficit. Thus in IZVESTIYA two days ago, USSR Finance Minister V. Orlov presented this action in the form of universal concern for the Soviet people's welfare. According to our financial navigator's logic, administrative price hiking gives us all the chance to see the light at the end of the tunnel at last.

The light in the tunnel can be seen. It comes from the headlights of a moving train going by the name of stagflation. This term means a simultaneous slump in production and increase in prices. I think that this word, just like inflation and hyperinflation, will firmly enter our everyday vocabulary.

In any economic system, stagflation is the most unwelcome form of crisis. The West went through it in the middle of the 1970's. In leading capitalist countries, the slump continued for an average of 18 months, and the depth of the fall in industrial production reached approximately 12 percent. Thousands of enterprises went bankrupt and the population's living standard dropped sharply. But in a market environment crisis leads ultimately not to financial collapse but to the renewal of production, its reorganization, and the transition on this basis to an economic structure of higher quality and efficiency.

In our country though, stagflation is rampant in a non-market environment where the development of mechanisms for exiting the economic stupor is lacking or extremely weak and rudimentary. This is the most dangerous background for the socio-political situation. Its appearance is the natural result of pseudo-perestroyka measures accompanied by maxims on the need for a gradual transition to the market. But it is just this sort of marking time and indecisiveness which led to the buildup of economic problems which the government is trying to solve using the price shock method. However, shock has nothing in common with therapy.

In the very first days after the price increases, the legend about the supposed existence of massive goods reserves, which enterprises do not release for trade because of low prices, was exploded. The expectations of millions of Soviet consumers, harassed by everyday shortages, were deceived. They were greeted by the same empty shelves, compounded by the new price lists. No commodity intervention took place.

But maybe this is a temporary phenomenon and production will respond to the new prices. Maybe we would do well to be patient a little longer, and then everything will fall into place.

Upon his appointment as prime minister, former Finance Minister V. Pavlov was described by the president as a knowledgeable economist. Yet any economist who claims to have a broad view of the problems must understand that the correlation between prices and production is by no means as simple and straightforward as in the scheme whereby if we increase (or liberate) prices we will get more products. In a market economy, and even then with definite reservations, the production of consumer goods as a whole is quite sensitive or, as economists say, it reacts elastically to price changes. But under the conditions of a command-distribution administration, when the volume of goods produced is controlled not by price but from above and when an enterprise has the opportunity to offload increasing costs onto the shoulders of the state or consumer, prices have very little influence on its activity. Eminent Hungarian economist Janos Kornai wrote about this in his book "Shortage": "If all the circumstances described in the book (administrative system, the mechanism of regulation and motivation, and behavioral norms) continue as before, no amount of price changes will be able to eliminate the constant recurrent shortages at enterprise level." They cannot!

People wrote about this over 10 years ago. But our economic strategists prefer to operate counter to theory and economic experience. Fortified by the pioneering spirit, they bravely cast our economic ship onto the price reef, raising retail prices across the board for foodstuffs as well as industrial goods, the prices of which in many cases were already artificially inflated. Thus even the question of eliminating scandalous price distortions in the sphere of retail prices remains unresolved. Edible goods and industrial items are simply in one and the same price categories—expensive and extremely expensive. Indeed, many goods are becoming luxury items. A universal price upsurge has nothing in common with the proclaimed tasks of ensuring that necessary expenditure is reflected on production, consumer characteristics, quality, and effective demand, still less of increasing the population's real incomes.

And all of this is happening not just in a non-market environment but also in conditions of the collapse of old economic ties. You will not crack this situation with prices. You will release the full might of inflation. A characteristic example is last year's increase in the purchase price for grain. What came of this? A reduction in the sale of grain to the state as it became possible to get hold of more bank notes for a smaller volume of sales. On the other hand, it generated a chain reaction of price rises for an expanding range of goods. Mixed feed became more expensive, so the purchase price for meat had to be increased and subsidies rose to the point of being insupportable. So it ends up with retail prices having to be increased too.

Any illusions about new retail prices being compensated by 60-65 ruble supplementary payments were dispersed at once. The people have been shaken, the country is starting to shake. A wage increase is unavoidable if the country and republic leadership do not want to commit political suicide.

Thus the price-wages-price spiral is beginning to develop at an accelerating pace. And all this without any kind of hope for revitalizing production, as production is not linked with consumption because of the absence of a market. The struggle is not just against stagflation but also against its monster, and neither the political nor the economic apparatus, or indeed the command-distribution economic administration itself is prepared for it in principle. Stagflation can only be fought with the help of the market and not with measures imposed on us by administrative-financial strategies who stubbornly ignore the train bearing down on us in the tunnel.

'No Significant Changes' in Trade Evaluated

PM1704130391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

["Pertinent Remarks" by Yuriy Shabanov: "Grab A Sack"]

[Text] At the height of the stagnation era, diners would tell the following anecdote: "What will a flitch of bacon be in 1990 (the year of the fulfillment of the Food Program)?" "A piece of bread filched from a hog." Funny? No, sad really. And it appears that the prediction has come true. Not, of course, to the extent that we are doing battle with hogs, but one could now say that a unionwide fast is in progress. Judging by what we were told at the USSR Ministry of Trade, we will soon all be trim and lean.

What we are talking about is the state of trade and public catering from 2 through 12 April that is the 10-day period after prices were increased. Increased is not the word, though; they ballooned suddenly, like a gumboil. The effect was similar: Ouch!

Take the most common commodity—food. Judging, dear comrades, by the activities of a selective sample of stores and public catering establishments in various cities, there is neither more nor less of it, or, as trade workers say, there have been no significant changes. If we zero in on the period before the price increases, say March this year, then the empty stores and the massive waiting lines outside stores where there was at least something on offer enable us to properly assess the phrase—"there have been no significant changes." There is still no flour on sale, except in Moscow, Kiev, and Alma-Ata. Groats are in great demand everywhere. Macaroni and vermicelli are still strictly rationed. People are glumly waiting in long lines for bread in Central Asian, Azerbaijani, and Armenian cities. But in Moscow and Leningrad, the Baltic republics, Moldova, the Ukraine, and Belorussia they no longer wait in line for bread. Probably because there is more meat and sausage, for example, there. Chilled beef and cuts from it are freely available. Between two and five types of cooked or smoked sausage are there for the taking. But business is not too brisk: The prices smart. According to Trade Ministry figures, volumes of sales of meat products fell over the 10 days, particularly in Moscow, Belorussia, and the Ukraine.

But our people are smart, deserting the meat and sausage counters and taking up position in waiting lines for fresh-frozen fish—it is cheaper. Alas, the resources there are such that only in Moscow, Kazakhstan, and the Baltic republics is it constantly on sale.

Moscow schoolchildren and students have tightened their belts: After all, lunches are very expensive.

The same phrase—"no significant change"—describes the trade in light industry goods. Footwear, knitwear, hosiery, and men's suits are hard to come by. If we go on an intensive slimming course on a mass scale, we will be able to take advantage of the services of the "Children's World" firm: Its outlets have masses of school uniforms for girls and boys, and children's coats too. School pants and jacket at 130 rubles is obviously rather expensive for a child, but it is not bad for a man.

Generally speaking, our trade network operates in accordance with the principle that if there is plenty of something in one place there is little of it somewhere else. We know why. Because of the trade barriers erected by local authorities. But our people are smart. They are bartering. Recently I was exchanging a coupon for vodka. Suddenly this man appears next to me: Pour me a glass, he says, and I'll give you an electric soldering iron...

But that is barter within the confines of a single city, so how do you get round the barriers? Nothing simpler. Buy six or seven sweaters in Moldova, say, put them all on and go to Georgia. There, I am telling you, average daily sales have fallen by a factor of five since the price increases. In short, grab a sack, the train is leaving.

Aganbegyan Cited on Market Transition

PM1704090991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[N. Ilinskaya report: "Enterprise and Market"]

[Text] An all-union scientific and practical conference entitled "The Enterprise During the Transition to the Market" opens today at the USSR Academy of the National Economy. Academician A. Aganbegyan, rector of the Academy of the National Economy, talks about the aims and tasks of the conference:

[Aganbegyan] The transition from a state, monopolized economic system to a free market economy is a painful and complex process. The reforms which have already affected the fundamental interests of various sectors of society have caused increasing instability: Economic ties are being broken, production is decreasing, and the population's living standard is falling.

The formation of a specific program of urgent practical actions in the economy for the immediate period is the topic to be discussed by the conference participants.

Market relations, which are new to the country, have already been regulated by acts of legislation. Dozens of collectives have started working under market conditions, and it will be their leaders above all who will be sharing their experience. The conference, during which sessions of the Directors' Club will be held, will examine various approaches and positions in the movement toward a market economy, analyze real experience, and make forecasts for the immediate future. On the basis of this work comprehensive measures will be worked out which, in sum, will allow enterprises to achieve an improvement in the economic situation.

Specific actions based on a healthy and balanced approach have been proposed. But it can already be said that the most important condition for the implementation of economic reform is the shaping of a political force capable of implementing the transformations. Neither the center nor the republics can do this in isolation. That is why it is important to resolve the question of the Union Treaty as quickly as possible.

Shatalin on Economic Crisis, Market Economy

AU1604144391 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 Apr 91 p 13

[Erich Horn report: "Now USSR Is Threatened With Hyperinflation; 'Only Market Economy Can Solve the Economic Crisis'"]

[Text] Vienna—The economic crisis of the USSR can be solved only by introducing a market economy, as well as free entrepreneurship and a democratization of the entire society. In the short term, however, there will hardly be any improvement. This was stated by Professor Stanislav Shatalin, ex-economic adviser of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and father of the 500 days program for the transition to a market economy, in an exclusive interview with DIE PRESSE. The Soviet Union needs a coalition government, otherwise an economic reform is inconceivable. It could be headed by Gorbachev. However, he would have to be ready for a dialogue with all forces of the country. After all, Gorbachev was not bad when he started perestroyka, Shatalin says, who resigned his function as government adviser after the military intervention in the Baltic states. He has also left the Communist Party. Because the recently imposed drastic price hikes in the USSR were decided without any accompanying measures, such as a strict monetary policy or higher interest rates, this measure might cause a hyperinflation.

At the same time, the wage price spiral will rotate more quickly. In his suite at the noble Vienna Plaza Hotel, Shatalin said that the market economy cannot be introduced without a basic price reform.

The expert, who comes from Pushkin near Leningrad, does not know how the Soviet economy will develop in the future, because there is a struggle among the various political movements. In any case, however, an economic reform without the democratization of the political system is impossible. Shatalin is for the market economy, even though he knows that it does not have any tradition in the Soviet Union and that the ideological resistance against it is great. After all, after the October Revolution in 1917 one did not know what a planned economy was, either.

After his "500-day program for the transition to the market economy" was not implemented by the Soviet Government because of its radical nature, the Russian Republic accepted it. However, Shatalin doubts that it will work there, because there is one common currency in the USSR: Therefore, one cannot introduce the market economy in one single Union republic, while the center works with the old system.

In a lecture in the Creditanstalt Bankverein bank, Shatalin said that the ruble has stopped being a unified currency. It is difficult to get goods with it. Barter deals are increasingly used and ration cards are playing a rising role.

Shatalin, who is a department head at the Institute for Economy and Forecasting of the USSR Academy of Sciences, describes the current economic situation in somber colors: The gross national product and the standard of living are declining, inflation and the budget deficit are rising, the foreign currency situation is difficult. Monopoly enterprises are dominating, but one cannot close these down because otherwise the supply of the products that they are producing would collapse. He hopes that the union will be preserved, but as an association of sovereign republics, which will pass parts of their powers to the union. The current crisis did not come with Gorbachev but is the result of the developments over the past 70 years. In the past, this crisis was camouflaged with dollars received for oil exports. Now, however, oil production has declined and the price for oil is also low.

Difficult Integration in the World Economy

A big problem is that there is still no possibility for the privatization of big enterprises. The food problem is also acute. At the same time, integration in the world economy must be pushed ahead. Even though many companies and also the union republics have the right to conduct foreign trade, they do not have any experiences. Shatalin calls for close cooperation with the West and implied that not only loans but also help in training experts is needed.

Shatalin Sees No Reform Without Western Aid

PM1704153091 Paris BUSINESS IN THE USSR in English No 11, Apr 91 p 13

[Article by Academician Stanislav Shatalin: "A Glimmer of Hope"]

[Text] No matter what aspect of Soviet reality is discussed today, politicians, scholars, and journalists invariably agree that the situation is difficult. I would put it even more bluntly: the crisis in the economy is approaching the scale of a disaster. Escalating ethinic conflicts (fierce clashes in South Ossetia have already turned it into a second Nagorno-Karabakh) prompt one to speak of regional civil war in the USSR. Fresh miners' strikes resemble peals of revolutionary thunder and are fraught with dangerous consequences, the outcome of any revolution. The fragile and volatile political balance between the republics and the Centre rests on the action and counteraction of multiple, contradictory forces, with a great many unknown factors. Soviet politics swing from almost irreconsilable confrontation to attempts at achieving limited accord, from advancing dictatorship to oaths of allegiance to democracy, and from extremism to relative reason. The inconsistency is mirrored in equally eclectic, contradictory economic measures.

As an author of the 500 days programme, I dare repeat once again that its repudiation by the national parliament and President Mikhail Gorbachev was a mistake. And the reason is not only that the programme offered a chance to ensure badly-needed economic stabilization during the tansition to a market. I do not claim that the blueprint was faultless and beyond criticism. At that moment, however, it was vital for the republics to agree to form an economic alliance. Life itself would then have specified the details of the programme and fine-tuned it in accordance with changing conditions. the cooperation of the republics within an updated Union would hae been a powerful factor for political stability from the word go.

That chance was regrettably missed. And we now face a situation where there are no grounds for optimism. The first months in office of the Valentintin Pavlov cabinet did not bring the desired relief. Some of the administration's practical steps, like the exchange of high denomination banknotes for new bills, and tightening controls over free enterprise, had truly devasting results. They could be compared with a tidal wave triggered off in an attempt to spruce up the beaches.

One newspaper used another comparison, likening the measures to the carpet bombing of cities in the hope of wiping out the gangsters. The casualties included trust in the goals of the reformers, but this isn't considered a great loss in the USSR even today. They say that the intelligent learn from others' mistakes, while fools learn from their own. Where do we fit in, if we ae even unwillng to draw conclusions from our own blunders?

But I do not agree with those insisting: "The worse, the better." For people in such a vast and multinational country as the Soviet Union, with its painful history, it would be tantamount to suicide to go along with them. This is why I think it essential to note any encouraging political signs. The most important of these is the growing understanding that the Union is needed as a commonwealth of sovereign states. The efforts of the eight republics that hammered out the key provisions of a new Treaty of Union in March may be given their due later. the broadening cooperation is, no doubt, a positive development, which offers a glimmer of hope.

I think the same of the outcome of the referendum on the future of the USSR, although I am among those who are not completely hapy about the overtly tendentious question on the ballot, which effectively allowed only one answer. I have no doubt, however, that even if it had been worded differently, most of those who answered in the affirmative would also have said yes to an integral, renovated Union as well. I, too, vote for this.

But the republics refusing to accept a Treaty of Union are fully entitled to this stand as well. There can be no bluffing and cheating on the principle of self-determination. The right to secession is unquestionable. For me, however, the need to preserve a nation-wide market is likewise obvious. The departure of any republic from our economy, which is marked by narrow specialization and monopolies, would be a heavy blow to all, including those deciding to walk out. Economically, such a step would be devoid of logic. But a single national market also demand sfull respects for free enterprise.

Factories, firms and joint-stock societies in federal ownership should not become republican, regional or local property. It would be typically feudal thinking to allow them to do so. An enterprise belongs only to its genuine owners, staff or share-holders and is entitled to act on the nation-wide market as it sees fit economically. The interests of the state, society and the republics should be protected by taxation and legal regulations.

I would like to say a few words in conclusion about Western aid and credits. The fact that the Western reaction to events in the Baltics has been limited to warnings should not delude our politicians. If another retreat from democracy and reversal of reforms takes place, the West, its business community included, will go

further than warnings. The consequences could be irreparable. In the meantime, without Western aid, credits and direct investments in the Soviet economy, I maintain that reform in this country will not come about.

Scientific

Leningrad AES Chernobyl-Type Reactor Overhauled

PM1704125191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Report by S. Chekalin from the "Television News Service" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Soon it will be the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster, and the specter of Chernobyl is still haunting the country. The fear of the nuclear bogey remains in people's hearts, and this is quite understandable. Another aftereffect is people's special attitude toward the nuclear power industry.

According to the USSR Ministry of Atomic Power Engineering and Industry, the planning and construction of 60 nuclear power stations with a total capacity of 160 million kilowatts has now been discontinued. Nonetheless, the country's scientists and designers claim that they have learned their lesson from Chernobyl. A great deal has been done of late to ensure the safer operation of nuclear power stations.

[Chekalin] What you see are the buildings of the Leningrad Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES], which is located on the shores of the Gulf of Finland. We have filmed of all its four one-gigawatt power units from the air. The capital overhaul of the first power unit's reactor which has just been completed can be described as an event of special importance. Some 15 years ago it initiated the series of the selfsame RBMK-1000 nuclear reactors which are now being referred to as the Chernobyl reactors. The overhaul carried out on this "first-ling" reactor is unprecedented in world practice. All technological lines have been replaced. This is comparable to a heart transplant. New monitoring and accident-prevention systems have been installed. Essentially, an updated reactor has been created which meets all the stipulations of the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency]. Tests of the new equipment are currently under way. The reactor's new life exceeds 10 years. The rebirth of this reactor will make it possible to embark on the renewal of the nuclear hearts of all the power units of the Leningrad, Chernobyl, Kursk, and other nuclear power stations of this series in the near future.

Cosmos 2142 Launched To Conduct Space Research

LD1704143191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1404 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, 17 Apr (TASS)—Another artificial Earth satellite, Cosmos 2142, was launched in the Soviet Union on Tuesday [16 April] by a Cosmos carrier rocket. The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution 105 degrees; apogee 1,031 km; perigee 983 km; orbital inclination 83 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to Earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus. The apparatus is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Military

PRAVDA Report Looks at Space-Based Defense

PM1704124191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Apr 91 Second Edition p 8

[Special correspondent A. Gorokhov report: "Front Line: Report From the Missile Attack Early Warning System Command Center"]

[Text] Air Defense Forces—...I am on the front line. A special kind of front line, without trenches, foxholes, or positions, but crammed with electronics and flashing screens, and full of the gentle whirr of air conditioners and a kind of inexplicable, tense, and rather pressurized silence. There is only the click of the keyboards as a command is selected.

It is from here, from these workstations, that a combat crew controls the orbiting group of Soviet satellites constantly monitoring all possible launch points for U.S. ICBM's, including U.S. territory. Hanging from the ceiling of the large room is a map of the United States divided into 10 zones, including the eastern and western missile and space test ranges.

This is the first, space-based line of defense—the Soviet Missile Attack Early Warning System [MAEWS], whose existence, not just as part of the Air Defense Forces structure but as an entity at all, we managed to conceal for many years with enviable stubbornness (not so much from a likely enemy as from our own taxpayers and, most regrettably of all, from the legislators who were drawing up the defense budget).

The officer of the watch, who was at his workstation and could not help overhearing my conversation with Colonel N. Lukinov, suddenly said: "The people do not know what we do here. Everyone thinks that we are just twiddling our thumbs..."

That is true. This place is, without exaggeration, the "president's eyes." From here, the president—wherever he may be—should be able, if necessary, to obtain an accurate assessment of a missile launch. The General

Staff and command centers of branches of the Armed Forces obtain information from here as well.

Access to such installations was strictly denied to journalists until recently, although, in my view, at least some parliamentarians or members of the Cabinet of Ministers should be shown around here from time to time.

I want to reiterate the degree of responsibility borne by these officers and warrant officers, who receive no privileges compared with their colleagues in other branches and categories of troops, apart from continuous duty. Whether it be a holiday, like last Sunday, or an "ordinary" day, there is no special note in their diaries.

...On the highway, the numerous "no entry" signs tell you that there is something top secret ahead. Then domes suddenly loom up like so many Easter cakes—the so-called outstations [vynosnyye punkty]. Each dome covers a huge, 25-meter antenna. The multistory base of the "Easter cake" contains a computer center, a command post, and mess facilities. This is where the officers serve. Without any external sign of their activity, but continuously—year in year out—as if waiting for something.

Information from the outstations is fed to the central command post for the space-based element of the MAEWS. I find myself making a comparison with the Central Spaceflight Administration near Moscow, which is known to all our readers from television reports. Hundreds, if not thousands, of specialists participate in controlling a manned orbiter, for example (this shows yet again that spaceflights are not just simple outings with medals and titles waiting at the end—as they have recently been presented to public opinion).

"Managing orbiting groups, extracting the necessary information from satellites, processing that information, and passing it on to other command posts is something that only the Armed Forces do," Col. Lukinov noted.

I did not detect even a hint of any "obscurity" when talking to my companion or in conversation with his fellow officers. Admittedly, the new face of the Air Defense Forces came about some time ago, when computerized controls to monitor near-earth space were organically added to the traditional surface-to-air missile units, fighter aircraft, and radar operators.

I imagined their transatlantic space-based early warning system colleagues. I imagined a map of our country, divided in precisely the same way into standard zones depicting the test ranges at Tyuratam (Baykonur), Plesetsk, and Kapustin Yar. What are they thinking about "over there"? Clearly, about the same things: detecting launches, informing the country's leadership, warning of a threatened missile attack, and providing time for retaliation...

For a long time this was called confrontation. Nowadays a different term is used: deterrence. I think it is not too farfetched to envisage a possible Soviet-U.S. exchange of data, methods, and specialists in the missile attack early warning sphere. What if, by the end of the century, the number of countries with a nuclear missile potential increases, as expected, to two dozen? What further restraints will have to be devised?

Colonel General of Aviation B. Kraskovskiy gave me the following information:

"Around 40 U.S. intelligence satellites with functioning on-board equipment 'work' on the Soviet Union. They conduct a radar, imaging, radio, and electronic effort against our territory and possible maritime and ocean military theaters. Satellites in low-earth orbits make 42 passes a day over Soviet territory..."

Readers are free to imagine the numerical strength of our orbiting group, which is needed at least to ensure parity.

To explain to some extent just how such systems operate, I shall turn to recent events in the Gulf region.

How did the U.S. political leadership and the U.S. military command gain a complete and steady picture of the development of events in the military theater? By making extensive use of space-based intelligence-gathering systems deployed before the outbreak of hostilities in a so-called orbiting group. They were "targeted" on Iraqi territory, which was effectively used by the U.S. military as a kind of testbed. Yes, it was possible to "hoodwink" the satellites by setting up all kinds of dummy targets and, for example, painstakingly concealing mobile operational and tactical missile launchers. The satellites' ability to see did deteriorate in bad weather conditions or when areas were smoke-covered.

These are just details, hwoever. In the opinion of Soviet military specialists, the satellites made it possible above all to identify the most important installations with great accuracy, to reveal the armed forces' order of battle, to monitor all changes in the armed forces, to increase the targeting accuracy of airborne strikes, to correct the flight paths of air-launched and cruise missiles, to ensure precision low-level bombing, and to improve the effectiveness of Patriot surface-to-air missile complexes in their battle against the Scuds...

Orbiting group intelligence satellites such as the KH-11, Lacrosse, Ferret D, and Magnum (imaging, radar, radio, and electronic intelligence) were able to monitor the conflict zone virtually around the clock. Intelligence information processed on the ground reached multinational forces' units and subunits between 90 minutes and three hours later. Communications, relay, and navigation satellites operated at the upper levels of the orbiting group. Military helicopters and tanks were urgently fitted with Navstar navigation system equipment.

As far as this report is concerned, I would particularly spotlight the use (for the first time in combat) of third-generation space-based IMEWS, [Integrated Missile Early Warning Satellites] early warning satellites to

detect ballistic missile launches. The satellites operated in conjunction with AWACS [Airborne Warning And Control System] long-range radar detection aircraft.

We must assume that these satellites are based on the same physical principles as our own. Scud launches were detected from the engine plumes at altitudes of 10-15 km 30 seconds after launch (during this period the missile is "breaking through" the denser layers of the atmosphere). Information on the fact of the launch and its coordinates were immediately fed to the command center at the joint (U.S. and Canadian) North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) and to the command center at the multinational forces' joint central command on Saudi territory.

At this point, of course, we can conjecture about the effectiveness of using space-based systems in such a rapidly developing process as monitoring operational and tactical missile launches. As the saying goes, you hardly have time to blink and the missile has hit. I think, however, that it was no accident that the Americans used their space system in order, first, to acquire unique experience—albeit in a localized theater and not involving such powerful missiles as ICBM's. Second—or perhaps, on the contrary, first—to convince their paymasters under no account to reduce funding for research and development into improving their own national missile attack early warning system.

Colonels V. Lyukh and A. Tsapliyenko showed me a recording of test launches of the Trident 2 ICBM. An unusual light appeared on the crowded screen—the background was the earth during the daytime. Of course, I could not distinguish it from the other points on the screen without outside assistance. The operators here know these screens forward and backward, however.

"The first stage is firing, it is very powerful," Tsapliyenko explained. "The operator can get a fix on it about 20 seconds after launch. Satellites track the target during the boost phase, then the second echelon of the MAEWS comes into action—ground-based, over-the-horizon radar stations..."

Incidentally, when a Titan 4 rocket launched the first satellite in the IMEWS series into geostationary orbit from the eastern missile and space range (Cape Canaveral, Florida) almost two years ago, my companions were monitoring all the electronic details of the launch.

I realize that this recording was a kind of teaching aid. And yet, and yet... It will probably be easier to reach agreement on comprehensive verification if all national systems work like clockwork. Without having organized matters, however, we are already cutting off our nose to spite our face—I am thinking of last year's government decision to mothball the Mukachevskiy Radar Station.

Having plunged into cuts and reorganizations, it is as if we are clouding the "president's eyes" of our own accord...

I realize that this report is not much cause for celebration, but I must reiterate the fact that the Air Defense Troops "celebrate" their day, as always, at their posts. These ideas, I would add, were invariably present when I talked with officers and later with the developers of the systems entrusted to them.

The MAEWS is a system at state, or even supranational, level. We must say that there are things to criticize in the Soviet military-industrial complex. What if the defense industry is broken up and regional thinking prevails? What would we gain and what would we lose? Destroying is not the same as building.

...When during our conversation we broached the touchy subject of the people's money being "swallowed up," Colonel V. Ivanov used what struck me as a convincing argument.

"Suppose," the officer said, "nuclear missiles disappeared altogether. Even in that fantastic situation our service would still be needed. You want examples? A global environmental catastrophe, for example, fires, and so forth. That is just one of the possible avenues of conversion for our work..."

Yazov Gives Air Defense Forces Day Order

PM1704131191 Moscow in Russian 13 Apr 91
First Edition p 1

["USSR Defense Minister's Order of the Day No. 159"]

[Text] 13 April 1991, Moscow—Comrade soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers, ensigns and warrant officers, officers, generals, and admirals!

Comrade veterans of the Air Defense Forces!

Comrade designers and workers in the defense industry!

I cordially congratulate you on the holiday: the country's Air Defense Forces Day!

The Air Defense Forces have a heroic combat history. The first air defense subunits staunchly defended the young Republic of Soviets. During the 1941-1945 Great Patriotic War antiaircraft gunners, airmen, and communications personnel covered themselves with unfading glory. The people's exploit of the air defense servicemen who defended the sky over the city of Moscow, the capital of our motherland, will be preserved in the people's memory forever.

Today the Air Defense Forces are forces in constant combat readiness, whose role and significance in terms of the defensive doctrine is growing steadily. For the sake of our motherland's security, intensive combat training is under way and new technology is being assimilated in air defense units and subunits. Air defense personnel are fully exerting their moral and physical strength in fulfilling the task of combat watch, striving for enhanced teamwork of combat crews and aircrews and the cohesion of the multinational military collectives. The Air

Defense Forces are loyal to their people and their constitutional duty of defending the socialist fatherland and the unity and indestructibility of the Soviet state and are displaying the necessary staunchness and self-control.

I wish soldiers and sergeants, ensigns and officers, generals, workers and employees of the Air Defense Forces, veterans of the Great Patriotic War and the USSR Armed Forces, and defense industry workers good health and successes in their duties and their work for the good of our great motherland—the USSR.

To mark the country's Air Defense Forces Day I order:

That a festive firework display be held on 14 April 1991, at 2200 hours local time, in the hero-city of Moscow, the capital of our motherland, in the capitals of the union republics, in the hero-cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk, and in the hero-fortress of Brest.

[Signed] Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Army Party Committee Secretary Surkov Interviewed

PM1704161191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Major General M. Surkov, secretary of All-Army Party Committee and USSR people's deputy, by A. Orlov; place and date of interview not given: "You Should Stand Up for the Truth"]

[Excerpt] As a result of the first All-Army Party Conference, a united party organization for the USSR Armed Forces was created and an All-Army Party Committee elected.

[Orlov] Mikhail Semenovich, you are to be congratulated on your recent election. Among journalists I have already heard you called "general secretary of the Armed Forces communist party..." Okay then, has another party come into being?

[Surkov] First of all, thank you for the congratulations. As far as this "general secretary" business is concerned, in no way at all am I making claims to such a post. The CPSU was and remains for us Communist servicemen a single organism. We fully recognize the party program and Statutes and are not seeking any alternatives. So, although the word "general" has a pleasant ring, I nevertheless remain the secretary of the All-Army Party Committee. We are not a newly created party. We are those same million odd Army Communists who earlier as an organization were part of the political organs and today have united to form their own structure.

[Orlov] You are creating your own independent apparatus in the party organizations...

[Surkov] We have tried to create a new party structure which is not overly cumbersome and overstaffed. It is first and foremost this budget of ours which dictates such an approach. We rely, as they say, only on our own efforts. We have not created any new posts, indeed, we have cut them: We will now not have full-time party workers in individual battalions. They have been retained at the regimental level and on classification one ships. Yet the size of Army and Navy party organization is very substantial today. Actually, today we are one of the largest organizations even alongside republican organizations: We are in third place after the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Ukraine...

[Orlov] Mikhail Semenovich, I should like one point clarified. The Armed Forces' first party conference had hardly finished its work when the rumor gradually began to spread that, it was said, the military delegates had expressed a lack of faith in the USSR president. Is this true?..

[Surkov] I have already had occasion to reply to this question. Some people are indeed spreading this rumor. I declare with full responsibility, and I think our 1026 delegates will confirm, that from beginning to end there was an amicable and businesslike atmosphere at the conference. The conversation was serious, and various opinions and critical observations were heard. They concerned a wide range of persons. If there were any observations or proposals made about the president, they were made in an amicable manner—it was the most normal of conversations.

[Orlov] What do you define as the aims and tasks of the Army Communists' new organ—the All-Army Party Committee? What kind of a force in politics are you going to be?

[Surkov] We declare in a completely definitive manner that the Army Communists remain loyal to the socialist choice and remain on positions of loyalty to the country's leadership. We are in favor of openness continuing in society and there being a multitude of viewpoints, but all this within the framework of parliament and the USSR Constitution.

[Orlov] If you are to specify in an even more concrete manner the political aims the Army Communists are setting themselves, what would they be? Who are they going to oppose, and who will they join with?

[Surkov] I would say the following: The basic political aim is to find allies who share our point of view, our choice. Who will we collaborate with, and against whom will we fight? We really would not want to make enemies for ourselves just today. This, however, will obviously happen very soon. How, say, can we fail to come into conflict with those who are obviously inclined to mark the political cards? How can we fail to unmask those who today are inciting people at all levels to fight the Communists? [passage omitted]

Moscow Ceremony Marks Air Defense Forces' Day

PM1704153591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Apr 91 Second Edition p 1

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev report: "Ceremonial Meeting Held"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to Air Defense Forces' Day was held on 12 April in the Central House of the Soviet Army.

The following were on the meeting's presidium: Yu.A. Manayenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary; Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister; Colonel General N.I. Shlyaga, chief of the Main Military-Political Directorate of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister; A.N. Soshnikov, deputy head of a department within the presidential apparatus; V.I. Shimko, USSR minister of the radio industry; Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister; and Army General V.F. Yermakov; along with generals, admirals, officers, veterans of the Air Defense Forces, defense industry personnel, and representatives of the Moscow public.

The meeting was opened by Colonel General N.M. Boyko, chief of the Military-Political Directorate and first deputy commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces.

Air Defense Forces veteran Major General of Aviation (Retired) N.A. Kozlov, Hero of Socialist Labor A.G. Basistov, soldier's mother A.I. Pankova, and Senior NCO O.V. Shcherbakov, a platoon commander, greeted the soldiers.

Army General I.M. Tretyak, commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, delivered a report at the meeting.

A concert followed the meeting.

Armed Forces' Law, Order, Crime Situation Viewed

PM1804094391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At USSR Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] A sitting of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium chaired by the country's General Prosecutor N. Trubin took place on 12 April.

The state of law and order in the USSR Armed Forces was considered. The grounds for such an in-depth conversation—and this was noted by all the speakers—are more than sufficient.

It was noted that, although certain positive changes leading to an increase in the level of oversight by prosecutors are taking place in the activities of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office, the situation that has developed nevertheless requires more radical reform of military prosecutors' work system.

In the Army the increase in the crime rate continues, the number of misappropriations and losses of weapons, ammunition, and explosives is not decreasing, and many violations of the law in the activities of officials of military directorate organs continue to come to light. Instances of the squandering of financial resources allocated by the state for the country's defense are by no means isolated.

Mention was also made of deaths and maimings among servicemen, suicides, and nonregulation relations. This problem, the USSR general prosecutor stressed in his speech, cannot leave anyone indifferent.

The collegium determined a program for increasing the effectiveness of oversight by prosecutors in the USSR Armed Forces and drew up specific measures to strengthen oversight of the application of laws in the struggle against crime, the prevention and detection of crime, and the inevitable punishment of offenders. The collegium required military prosecutors to react in uncompromising fashion to any human rights violations.

Baltic Republics

Problems Faced by Baltic Air Defense Crews Noted

PM1804121791 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Apr 91

[Report by correspondent V. Baranov, from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Baranov] This Air Defense Forces' Day is hardly any different from any other day. All of the men—pilots, missile men, and electronics specialists—are on constant combat standby. That, as they say, goes with the territory. However, their purely military concerns have been supplemented recently by what one could call regional problems. The local authorities—and this unit is located in the Baltic area—have been very unforthcoming about the military proposal that contracts be concluded to cover food supplies. They are in no hurry to solve other vitally important problems either. Housing conditions are bad, too. One can only gasp in amazement that cheek by jowl with state-of-the-art equipment you can find these kind of huts, in which the military have to live. Finding themselves under a psychological blockade of this kind, they have been forced to rack their brains to find a way out of this situation at the least cost—to their combat duty above all. Military duty and common sense, of course, suggest that they should rise above everyday squabbles and ethnic ambitions which clearly conceal a desire to drive this unit from the Baltic. But it is hardly possible to divide up the sky into individual sectors, just as it is hardly possible to divide up the Air Defense Forces themselves. Their mission these days is too complex.

[Colonel B.A. Fershalov] We were very busy in the past dealing with flights by reconnaissance warplanes from the capitalist states along the Soviet Union's state borders. We are no less busy today. That's the first point. Second, given the reality of the Warsaw Pact breakup, we have to manage by relying on our own forces. You could say that we've moved from the second ranks to the front line. Servicemen in the Air Defense Forces realize this—be they officers or men. This explains the increased length of duty periods, the responsibility felt by officers, warrant officers, and men while on duty, the readiness of our materiel, and the reduced amount of time needed to get it into first-rate combat readiness.

[Baranov] It should be noted that, following these changes, military units will be markedly busier. But the servicemen themselves are optimistic about this.

Can we say that the equipment our Air Defense Forces airmen use to defend our airspace is reliable?

[Major S.P. Terekhin] Of course you can tell our viewers that.

Savisaar Addresses Estonian People's Front

PM1704095991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Leonid Levitskiy: "Course As Before—Independence"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian People's Front congress ended Sunday [14 April].

It was the third such congress. Whereas in October 1988, at its first congress, the People's Front set the aim of all-around support for perestroyka and democratic transformations in the country and, on that basis, the achievement of real sovereignty for the republic, the second congress bluntly proclaimed a struggle for the achievement of autonomy and restoration of Estonian statehood. At the third, a strategy for ensuring independence was formulated. Keynote speaker Edgar Savisaar, leader of the People's Front and prime minister of Estonia, stressed three factors that had dealt a blow to the Union's "pro-imperial forces." They are the defeat of the "Polozkov party" at the Third Congress of Russian People's Deputies, the miners' strike and their political demands, and the results of the Russian referendum on the presidency.

In the speaker's opinion, USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's policy does not include granting independence to the Baltic republics. The Union would not get a reward from the West for that. And a dim view would be taken of such a decision inside the country. Therefore, E. Savisaar believes, the chief hope rests neither with the center and M.S. Gorbachev nor with the West, but with the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian democratic movements, with the resurgent statehood of Georgia, Moldova, and Armenia, and with the miners' strike.

The keynote speaker and some of the other contributors said that independence cannot be achieved without granting real rights and guarantees to the non-Estonian community. Estonian statehood cannot be restored without solving the citizenship issue. The weakness of the People's Front and other parties and organizations is that they lack an effective "Russian policy."

There was a pretty sharp debate on the question of the transformation of the People's Front into a single party, but the idea was not supported by the majority of delegates.

Estonian Party Issues Letter on Party Property

LD1704144891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 17 Apr (TASS)—The Estonian Independent Communist Party [CP] Central Committee Bureau has issued to the republican Supreme Soviet a denial of the government's allegations that the buildings and other real estate used by the CP were built primarily using state

funds, and should be handed over to the balance sheet of the current state chancellory. A few months ago, when the final schism took place and two Communist Parties of Estonia were formed, the government of the republic advanced a demand for a review of the property law status of the CP's property.

During the postwar years, the letter of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau points out, the party handed over to the government free of charge 11 finished or partially constructed buildings in various towns in Estonia, with a total value of over 6 million rubles [R]. A total of 384 cars and buses were also handed over free of charge.

The share of the funds drawn from the state budget for the construction amounts to about R4 million. The Communist Party agrees to resolve the question of compensation for these capital investments either by purchasing the part belonging to the government, or by paying back that part of net income it receives from use of the property. The Communist Party Bureau proposes that joint use of some party property should be organized.

The issue of party property can be finally resolved only after a law is adopted on the bases of the reform of ownership in Estonia, and after a law is adopted on parties, a draft of which was submitted to the Supreme Soviet by the CP back in 1989, but which has not yet been examined.

Protection of Latvian Installations Criticized

PM1704111591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Irina Litvinova: "Guardians of Order Departing"]

[Text] Riga—The Board of the Latvian People's Front has issued a statement in connection with the government's unsatisfactory—in its opinion—activity in guarding strategically important state installations.

The guardians of order, the statement reads, have done great work laying the foundations of the future Latvian Army. This work must be continued by government structures of the Latvian Republic. State institutions of the defense structure have not yet been created in practice. Protesting at the government's indecision, the Board of the People's Front adopted a decision to consider it pointless to use the forces of voluntary guardians of order to defend state installations and absolved itself of responsibility for the future fate of these installations.

Latvia's Bisers Discusses Moscow Talks

LD1704142791 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Deputy Prime Minister Ilmars Bisers expressed [word indistinct] that the development of both the political and the economic situation in the Soviet Union (?can be forcing) the Soviet side to consider the question of Baltic independence. Such a demand, as we know, was already sent to USSR President Gorbachev last week by the Baltic leaders before convening the Baltic Council last weekend at Jurmala. At his news conference today, Ilmars Bisers formulated his reasons:

[Bisers] Not only in the economic situation, but also the political situation the Latvian (?and) USSR leadership have brought up bigger (?steps) of principle, bigger questions of principle. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] So much for Ilmars Bisers' news conference today. The next meeting for talks in Moscow is set for 23 May.

Union To Return Latvian Diplomatic Archives

LD1604132391 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0900 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] As the Latvian Foreign Ministry has announced, representatives of the foreign ministries of the USSR and Latvia have officially signed in Moscow a protocol on handing over the secret diplomatic archives of the Latvian Foreign Ministry to the Republic of Latvia. Following the occupation in 1940, they were all taken to Moscow, as were the archives of the Latvian Mission in France. The USSR at that time also took over the documentation of the Latvian mission in Moscow. In the mid-seventies, part of the archives were returned; however, more than 500 items of the Political Economics Department of the Foreign Ministry of Latvia, the republic's mission in Paris, and the Latvian Embassy, remained in the archives of diplomatic history at the USSR Foreign Ministry. Now after 50 years, the remaining documents, in accordance with the protocol signed, will be returned to their lawful owner, the Republic of Latvia.

Latvia-Moldova Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD1704195191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] A cooperation agreement has been signed in Moldova between the Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the counterpart ministry of this southern republic. In a solemn atmosphere, Aloizs Vaznis, minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Latvia, and Ion Kostash minister of internal affairs of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic, signified by the signing that agreement has been reached on mutual assistance in uncovering crime, investigation of violations of the law, and staff training; if necessary, suitable measures wil be worked out and implemented in the struggle against terrorism, organized crime, and drugs rackets; and (?the necessary workers) will be provided by each republic for assistance if either republic suffers a natural disaster, or a major fire or accident, so that the consequences of the catastrophe can be dealt with.

After the agreement was signed, a news conference was organized. Aloizs Vaznis first (?consulted with) his colleagues in the Moldovan Ministry of Internal Affairs, confirming that the exchange of information on the natural [word indistinct] in present circumstances could be useful to both sides.

During the visit, Aloizs Vaznis and his assistant, Felikss Bendrovskis, were received by the Moldovan legislature chairman Snegur and Prime Minister Druk.

Landsbergis on Review of Independence Declaration

PM1804130191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by Colonel M. Ziyeminsh: "What Kind of a 'Chain' Is Landsbergis Forging"]

[Text] Riga—The documents adopted at the latest session of the Baltic Council, held in Jurmala 13 April, have been published. But they contain by no means everything that was discussed at the traditional meeting of the chairmen of the three Baltic republics' legislatures. The following issue, which is not reflected in the documents that were adopted at the meeting, was also discussed.

This has emerged in interview given to Latvian Television by V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet. He stated unequivocally that he would like to see the "two republics, allies in the common struggle for independence, to form a single straight 'Baltic chain.' What he meant was that Latvia and Estonia are somewhat lagging behind in terms of "political innovations" and that they should therefore "catch up with Lithuania." In practice this means that the republics should review their Declarations of Independence and exclude from their text references to the so-called "transitional period"—with all ensuing consequences.

Discussions to this effect are already under way in the corridors of the Latvian legislature. True, the attitudes toward Landsbergis' idea are ambivalent, even among the legislative majority. If its advocates nonetheless gain the upper hand, it will be the fourth amendment to the text of the declaration introduced by the legislature over the past 18 months.

Issue Blocks Russia-Lithuania Pact Signing

LD1704114891 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] One of the main reasons for not signing the Lithuanian-Russian agreement is the problem of the Kaliningrad Oblast. Vytautas Silas, chairman of the Lithuanian Minor Public Council under the auspices of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Presidium, notes to the weekly ATGIMIMAS that the Russian Federation was the first to put forward proposals on the Kaliningrad Oblast issue. According to Vytautas Silas, if these proposals are accepted, Kaliningrad Oblast would be provided with electricity, gasoline, gas, and crude oil via the Lithuanian territory and would have guaranteed rail communication with other parts of the Soviet Union. The suggestions of the Russian side are written down in the agreement that has been uninitialled by heads of both delegations.

According to Vytautas Silas, the Lithuanian Minor Commission has drawn the attention of the Lithuanian Parliament deputies and the head of the delegation, Ceslovas Stankevicius, to the fact that the article on Kaliningrad Oblast in the agreement is one-sided and represents Russia's interests only. In the opinion of Vytautas Silas, the Lithuanian side should gain guarantees that 19,000 Lithuanian residents in Kaliningrad Oblast are able to satisfy their spiritual and cultural needs and the history of Lithuania Minor is revived and preserved for future generations. The Kaliningrad Oblast issue should be solved on an international level.

Vytautas Silas notes that the region of East Prussia was handed over to the Soviet Union and not Russia at Potsdam's conference—and temporarily at that. No final agreement on Kaliningrad Oblast has been signed to this day.

Lithuanian Statement on Planning Seizures Denied

LD1704130791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] This report has come in from Vilnius: Officer (?Izraelov), assistant to the city military commandant, has termed a statement by Azubalis, press spokesman for the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, carried by independent Lithuanian Radio on Tuesday, as not corresponding to reality and provocative. The statement alleges that troops located in the city were preparing some to seize buildings and people. According to the assistant to the military commandant, no such actions are being planned in Vilnius, nor are they being prepared.

RSFSR

Yeltsin Continues Working Visit to France 17 Apr

Visits Grenoble

LD1704141691 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1330 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, should be returning from Paris today. He is on a private visit to France and today visited Grenoble, where he visited Olympic facilities. He has now come back and is holding a news conference. A meeting with the mayor of Paris and a possible meeting with the French president are also planned.

Meets Various Officials

LD1704162491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Report by Paris correspondent Yevgeniy Lukyanov]

[Text] Yesterday in Strasbourg, the head of the Russian Government concluded his meetings with deputies of the European Parliament. The Parisian press notes that the reaction on their part is not unanimous. If representatives of Western European socialist parties reacted to his idea of integration between Russia and Europe with caution and even with some mistrust, then the deputies of the liberal faction of the Europarliament, which is headed by Valerie Giscard d'Estaing, took it in with greater sympathy. Having noted the conviction and resoluteness of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the former president of France defined Yeltsin's position as moderate. On the other hand, Giscard d'Estaing stressed in his interview after the meeting, issues relating to such fundamental problems as relations between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and a future Soviet Union remain outstanding. The answers received by them were mixed, according to him.

The meeting between UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin was also held in Strasbourg. The latter noted Russia's striving toward participation in various international bodies, first and foremost the UN. This process, he pointed out, will not happen at once, but will require some time.

In Paris, the head of the Russian legislature had several protocol meetings, in particular with Laurent Fabius, president of the French National Assembly, and Jacques Chirac, mayor of Paris.

Not Trying To Take Gorbachev's Post

AU1704162091 Paris AFP in English 1549 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By Anne Penketh]

[Text] Paris, April 17 (AFP)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin, making his first foray abroad since his election nine months ago, Wednesday [17 April] wound up a three-day visit to France with a flourish after causing a trail of controversy in Strasbourg and Grenoble.

After upsetting the mayor of eastern Grenoble, Alain Carignon, by abruptly cancelling a scheduled tour there earlier in the day, a beaming Mr. Yeltsin explained at a news conference here that the change had been made because of his meeting "at the Elysee."

But with Mr. Yeltsin manifestly anxious to avoid further protocol upsets during his "private" visit, it was left to the Elysee palace to announce that he would be received by French President Francois Mitterrand.

Mr. Carignon said the last-minute cancellation was "totally unacceptable," adding that Mr. Yeltsin's behavior "does not seem to be in line with his ambitions."

Mr. Yeltsin Wednesday strongly denied that he had been cold-shouldered by European officials during his talks Monday and Tuesday at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, eastern France.

He stressed that his visit, aimed at underlining "Russia's unique role as a bridge between Europe and Asia," and returning Russia to the European fold, had been "well justified."

European officials had notably balked at Mr. Yeltsin's proposal for direct links between Europe and Russia, the largest Soviet republic, on grounds that the parliament only recognized sovereign states.

Mr. Yeltsin, however, said he was "very satisfied" with the outcome, saying that "at no stage did anyone say 'no'."

"They all understood that dialogue should be started," notably at the level of parliamentary committees, he said.

Referring to a clash with the leader of the European Parliament's Socialist group, Jean-Pierre Cot, Mr. Yeltsin said that this "does not mean the European Parliament has a negative attitude toward me and the Russian parliament as a whole."

In their tense exchange on Monday, the French European deputy made clear the assembly's preference for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Mr. Yeltsin's chief political rival.

The centre-left daily LE MONDE, commenting Wednesday on the "double fiasco" at Strasbourg, criticised the European deputies for reducing the "Yeltsin phenomenon" to his personal rivalry with Mr. Gorbachev, saying that such an attitude only illustrated their own "lack of seriousness."

Pressed on his relations with Mr. Gorbachev Wednesday, Mr. Yeltsin stressed: "we are not opponents in the sense that we are not fighting for the same post. I, in any event, am not trying to take over his post" as Soviet president.

He added, however, that Mr. Gorbachev should resign as Soviet Communist Party leader.

In marked contrast to the protocol contortions during Mr. Yeltsin's visit, one of Mr. Gorbachev's chief lieutenants, Soviet legislative speaker Anatoliy Lukyanov, meanwhile arrived to a red carpet welcome from French officials.

On Wednesday he had a meeting with Mr. Mitterrand at the start of his five-day official visit, during which he is also to see Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and attend a lunch in his honour by his French counterpart Laurent Fabius.

Meets With Mitterrand in Paris

LD1704224191 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Shvets]

[Text] Paris April 18 TASS—President Francois Mitterrand of France on Wednesday received president of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin at his request.

Yeltsin ended his visit to France yesterday.

"Various matters were discussed at the meeting," Yeltsin said.

The two leaders discussed prospects for integrating Russia into the "European home", contacts between the Russian and French parliaments and domestic problems of the Soviet Union.

Yeltsin informed Mitterrand that Russia has state sovereignty and conducts and will continue to conduct its own foreign policy.

"I am satisfied with this meeting. President Mitterrand, as always, showed that he is a wise politician and interesting man," Yeltsin said.

Before the meeting with Mitterrand, Yeltsin met French businessmen and was received by Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac.

Comments on Mitterrand Meeting

LD1704215791 Paris Domestic Service in French 2030 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Remarks by Russian President Boris Yeltsin on 17 April; place not given—recorded]

[Text] During a television interview, Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin asked to meet President Mitterrand. Today, his wish was fulfilled. There was a one-hour meeting between Mr. Yeltsin and the head of state. The Soviet politician mentioned in particular the prospects of Russia entering into an enlarged European Community:

[Begin Yeltsin recording in Russian with superimposed French translation] We spoke about the prospects of Russia's entry into the common house of Europe. We mentioned the possibility of parliamentarian contacts between the French Parlement and the Russian parliament. We also mentioned the internal problems in my country Russia and the fact that Russia states its sovereignty and will have an independent foreign policy. I am satisfied with this meeting. As usual, Mr. Mitterrand impressed us with his wisdom. He is a man with whom it is extremely interesting to talk. [end recording]

Views Proposed Roundtable

PM1804075091 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Apr 91 p 4

[Interview with Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin by Sylvie Kauffmann in Strasbourg on 15 April]

[Text] Strasbourg—Boris Yeltsin is puzzled. At home in Moscow, there is a president who can bring 300,000 supporters onto the streets and another president who is booed by those same 300,000 people. He, Boris Yeltsin, is the former—president of the Russian legislature, a leading figure in the democratic opposition, and in a good position to become, on 12 June, the first president of the Russian Republic (150 million inhabitants) to be elected by universal suffrage. The latter is Mikhail Gorbachev, president of a Soviet Union which is breaking up, threatened on all sides—by striking miners, by a virtually bankrupt state, by frustrated conservative Communists, by discontentment among the people.... And yet when he, Boris Yeltsin, comes to the West—Strasbourg, gateway of Europe—he sees that it only knows and, what is more, only recognizes one Russian: Gorbachev.

Monday 15 April was a difficult day for the Russian president who was unhappy when the interview time came after a particularly arduous trial imposed by the European socialist legislative group. Indeed, Mr. Yeltsin did not expect to be openly labeled as a "demagogue" and as "irresponsible" by Jean-Pierre Cot, the French chairman of that group, who then criticized him for "representing opposition to Gorbachev with whom we feel more secure," before showing him "the door if you do not want to hear unpleasant things!" Mr. Cot, who, on behalf of European socialism, went to lend support to the chairman of a "social democratic" party who was literally swept away in the first round of the first free Hungarian elections in March 1990, would probably find it more difficult to say the same things to a Moscow crowd. But Mr. Yeltsin's troubles are not over because his efforts to be received by Mr. Mitterrand during his visit to Paris had still produced no result on Monday evening.

This wall of incomprehension and the inconsistencies of socialism had therefore put Mr. Yeltsin and his press officer in a very bad mood, prompting them both to forget any form of courtesy, and allowing the natural response of the Soviet communist apparatchik to come to the fore. "I have had a busy schedule today, I cannot say that I am particularly pleased with it, I am tired of constantly answering the same question—Gorbachev-Yeltsin, Gorbachev-Yeltsin!" the Russian president said.

However it is a question which must be discussed because, less than two months after making a resounding call for Mr. Gorbachev's resignation on television, Mr. Yeltsin said he was ready to take part in a roundtable with him. It is clearly time for conciliation between the two rivals, who, it is said, cannot exist without each other. So, what has changed in the

meantime? "Nothing has changed," Mr. Yeltsin said in an interview with LE MONDE. "Gorbachev is not resigning, he is the country's president. We must try to work with those who hold positions of responsibility, including President Gorbachev. Those who hold such high positions in the state cannot behave like capricious young girls saying I like this, I do not like that.... We must cooperate, we must work in such a way that Russia and the whole country do not suffer. And we must do this despite the fact that Gorbachev and I disagree on several matters of principle."

He went on: "There is no personal conflict between Gorbachev and I, there is no spiritual incompatibility. I moved away from President Gorbachev when he stopped promoting perestroyka, glasnost, and democracy. But if we feel that this democracy is threatened by an offensive by right-wing forces, I am convinced that he and I will find the means of uniting." Does this mean that Mr. Yeltsin would be prepared to participate in a government coalition with Mr. Gorbachev? The question was followed by a very lengthy silence on the Russian president's part, and he eventually gave this laconic reply: "This should be discussed in the framework of the roundtable."

He obviously does not view this roundtable in quite the same way as Georgiy Shakhnazarov, one of Mr. Gorbachev's advisers, who recently mentioned the possibility of a meeting of "all the political forces to discuss" the Soviet president's "anticrisis plan." In Mr. Yeltsin's view, "the aim is to unite the forces likely to bring a degree of stabilization in the country, to end the strikes, and take the first few steps toward economic reform. This means: the leaders of the republics, the country's president (Mr. Gorbachev—LE MONDE editor's note), the leaders of the various political parties and social groups, workers' organizations, trade unions, representatives of the miners' strike committees. It is possible to imagine a series of roundtable meetings which would be coordinated as decisions were made or problems solved."

If you take the example of the miners, who have stopped work "in several republics, in Russia, in Kazakhstan, in the Ukraine," Mr. Yeltsin continued, "only a coordinated, joint action can end their strike, provided they are given political and economic guarantees."

At this roundtable, the Communist Party in each republic would "not necessarily" be represented; "perhaps the CPSU alone.... In Russia, for instance, the Russian Federation's Communist Party has not been registered whereas the CPSU has...." Despite the similarity of the names, it must not be seen, Mr. Yeltsin remarked, as a "carbon copy" of the 1989 Polish roundtable. However, he said, "we met with President Lech Walesa and had lengthy discussions when he visited our country about their long road toward those accords, their new revolution...."

Mr. Yeltsin was less forthcoming about the future of the Union, and merely said that it will have to do without the Baltic Republics, Georgia, and Moldova, and he mentioned three spheres likely to be the Union's responsibility—defense, railroads, and nuclear energy. Do not talk to the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet about the "special powers" which the Russian Congress of Deputies has just voted him—he hates the expression: "The congress did not grant me special powers," he retorted. "The congress adopted a resolution on a new division of responsibilities among the organs of the Russian Federation—the Congress of Deputies, the Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet (Mr. Yeltsin—LE MONDE editor's note), the council of ministers, and the prime minister. I therefore have no special powers, although the Western media has for some unknown reason tried to spread that terminology, which is also used by the party press in our country."

Nonetheless, he continued, "this will not last long because on 12 June the Russian president will be elected from among several candidates (by universal suffrage). Suddenly, in the somber atmosphere of that day, Mr. Yeltsin's face seemed to light up with a glow of satisfaction.

Vremya Discusses Visit

LD1704213191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Apr 91

[from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Yesterday Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, who is visiting France at the invitation of the International Policy Forum, an organization connected with a group of Europarliament deputies from Christian democratic parties, met Laurent Fabius, chairman of the French Assembly.

After a short conversation the head of the Russian legislature appeared on French television's Channel Five, where he gave an interview to the evening news announcer, Jerome Durand. The questions concerned relations between Russia and the EC, and also a number of international problems, and also problems connected to the internal life of our country. The announcer was also interested in relations between Gorbachev and Yeltsin, and the possiblity of cooperation between them. The head of the Russian legislature noted that in order to avoid any shifts to the right to the detriment of democraticization and perestroyka, he is prepared to unite with Gorbachev while the Soviet president is in that post. [video shows interview taking place in the studio] [passage omitted]

Our program has covered the visit by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin fairly sparsely, factually. This was probably because the visit was more of a private nature.

Yet the French, British, German and Spanish press, and foreign radio stations, have not let a single detail of the visit by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman pass without attention. I will say right off that one can only

welcome the attempts by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin to establish links between Russia and West Europe, and also Boris Nikolayevich's statement in Strasbourg on his readiness to work together with the USSR president.

Yet nevertheless, on the whole Western politicians and the press received the head of the Russian legislature with reserve. The first day in France brough him an unexpected surprise, a Voice of America correspondent reported. France, which officially recognizes the USSR as an international partner, cannot presently establish direct relations either with Russia or any other national Soviet republic. French newspapers recall in particular the recent cold reception for Georgiy Khoshtaria, the Georgian foreign minister, whom Roland Dumas, the head of French Foreign Policy Department, refused to receive. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, in any event, has not yet been received by French President Francois Mitterrand.

The deputies of the European Parliament, where Boris Nikolayevich spoke, clearly fear the disintegration of the USSR and the unstable situation here in the country. Hence the caution toward the Russian leader from whom, in their view, such a threat comes. Evidently it was not a coincidence that when presenting the guest to the deputies, the chairman of the socialist group, Jean-Pierre Cot, said that we feel safer with Gorbachev. Here is the opinion of Enrique Baron, the president of the European Parliament: I was not reassured by the meeting with Yeltsin, Baron said. I told him that while we West Europeans are uniting and developing joint policies, division and rifts are going on there, and moreover the situation is not infrequently on the verge of a chasm.

Western Media Cited on Trip

PM1704162191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "B. Yeltsin's Stay in France"]

[Text] Commenting on B. Yeltsin's trip to France, Antenne-2 (the French television company) points out: "The head of the Russian Parliament arrived in Strasbourg on a private visit which, however, right from the start assumed the nature of an official visit."

Reporting Yeltsin's stay in Strasbourg, Western mass media draw attention to the criticism leveled at him in the European Parliament. During a meeting with socialist parties' deputies, Britain's THE INDEPENDENT writes, certain speakers declared that his opposition to Gorbachev threatens the Soviet Union's stability.

According to THE GUARDIAN, a number of European Parliament deputies from Britain and Spain boycotted Yeltsin's speech.

Making an assessment of Yeltsin's statements in Strasbourg, THE FINANCIAL TIMES points out that he declared his readiness to work with Gorbachev and also decided not to pin the responsibility for the fall in living standards in the USSR and the holding of strikes directly on the Soviet leader.

Key Tasks 'Fulfilled'

LD1704224391 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Shvets]

[Text] Paris April 18 TASS—President of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin, on an official visit to France, held a news conference on the results of his French tour on Wednesday.

He made the following statement before its start:

Ladies and gentlemen,

I believe that I have fulfilled the key tasks of my visit to Strasbourg and Paris. I'd like to express satisfaction with all the meetings and conversations I had in Strasbourg and Paris and shall have.

I believe that the decision to make the first international trip to France, to Strasbourg, the seat of the European Parliament and the Council of Europe, as well as to Paris during the first nine months after my election as president of the Russian parliament, was justifiable, and this evokes satisfaction.

The visit has showed that the basis begins to form for Russia's possible integration into European political, economic and legal space. Various political forces, which are following with growing interest the developments in Russia and our country, are coming to understand this process.

I have established important personal contacts with the leaders of the European Parliament and the Council of Europe and prominent French politicians, who can play an important role in returning Russia to Europe in the near future.

We had broad opportunities to fully outline the main principles of Russia's participation in international and European cooperation and show our constructive desire to use to the full operating international and bilateral agreements on cooperation with leading European institutions.

We have also succeeded in driving home an idea that Russia can play a unique role of a bridge between Europe and Asia and help form European space, above all the economic one, on the territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

The visit provided an opportunity to describe changes in Russia and our country to various politicians and to show that the political leadership is following the line of consistent democratization of society and radical reforms in the economic spheres, aimed at ensuring a prominent place for Russia in Europe and the world and at improving the life of Russian people.

We have understood better the specific nature and diversity of operations of European institutions, the role of which is constantly growing. Much of their experience can be efficiently used in Russia, including the law-making process.

We succeeded to show our responsible and balanced approach to many political problems and to show readiness to make our moves in the international arena, taking into account existing norms and principles.

On the basis of talks held, we have a chance to turn to forming specific mechanisms of cooperation between Russia and European institutions and to establishing bilateral cooperation with France, which would conform to present-day realities.

Then Boris Yeltsin answered journalists' questions.

Trade Union Group Calls for 26 Apr Protest

LD1704165791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1345 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] The plenum of the federation of independent trade unions of Russia, which met via telephone hook-up, decided today to hold an all-Russia warning action on 26 April. Labor collectives are given the right to choose the form to stage it in: either stopping work, decreasing output, or rallying in public places. The independent trade unions demand that the Union and Russian leaderships revoke a tough tax on the consumer fund and adopt republican laws on indexation and employment.

Nuclear Program Transfer To Be Complete by '92

LD1704124891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Anufriyev]

[Text] Arkhangelsk, 17 Apr (TASS)—It is planned that work on transferring to Novaya Zemlya (in the Soviet Arctic) the test program from the Semipalatinsk nuclear poving ground in Kazakhstan, which is subject to closure, will be completed by 1992. This was stated at a meeting with journalists by Colonel Gennadiy Neverov, head of the USSR KGB directorate for the Arkhangelsk Oblast (in northern Russia). He was quoting information he had at his disposal.

The Arkhangelsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies is opposed to any buildup in the numbers of nuclear weapons tests in the Arctic, said Viktor Shiryayev, deputy chiarman of the Soviet, who was present at the meeting. "The resolution of this question is within the competence of the country's Defense Council and president, he observed. We will insist that the military pay compensation for taking the territory of the testing ground and for the possible ecological damage."

Leningrad Soviet Leadership Assailed

91UN1299A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 91 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Leningrad State University Professor V. Lisovskiy: "The Demonic Power of Ignorance"]

[Text] **The first all-Union referendum was held recently. As we know, the majority of our citizens said "yes" to the Union. And this was in spite of the pressure exerted on the population by certain "democrats" and, sad as it may be, certain Moscow and local sociologists as well. In their predictions our colleagues extensively notified the public that the majority would vote against the Union, they conducted their own polls, and thus they influenced public opinion. Now, speaking on public television, they repent and say: We were mistaken. But why, one asks, were they in such a hurry to make this not very representative information public?**

It was Disraeli who said that there are three kinds of lies: lies, damn lies, and statistics. Permit me to say that a very large number of such "statistics" are being published today.

On the eve of the referendum workers of our Institute of Comprehensive Social Research questioned 157 passers-by. And 72.6 percent of them said that they would participate in the Union referendum and 51.5 percent said they would say "yes." The figures for Leningrad turned out to be very close to the actual ones.

Of course, everybody makes mistakes. But when poorly trained, one-sidedly politicized people take up sociology, they deceive the masses of the population. Yet it is the lack of information for people, incompetence, and sometimes simply ignorance that frequently serve as sources of social upheaval and human suffering.

Last year Leningrad television workers set up an experiment on the Palace Square. A journalist told several passers-by that the Leningrad Soviet had made a decision to move the Alexandrine Column from the Palace Square to the Alexander Garden next to it. The reason? It got in the way of the demonstrators.

A crowd of disturbed citizens gathered immediately. The activists, who appeared immediately, arranged a rally and began to gather signatures protesting this.

Later I asked one candidate of sciences:

"But how could you believe such nonsense?"

"Our Leningrad Soviet is capable of much worse than that."

"You should have called there and verified it."

"For some reason that never even entered my mind."

A year has passed since the people who call themselves democrats won the elections to the Leningrad Soviet. The campaign euphoria is over and suddenly we have

unexpectedly begun to see that many nonprofessionals and out-and-out dilettantes are trying to control the life of the city. M. Salye, for example, who took charge of the food commission in the Leningrad Soviet, has become the talk of the town. During the election campaign, agitators from the People's Front made the appeal:

"Vote for Salye, she will feed the city!"

And that was at a time when Leningrad as a whole was fairly well supplied with food. Meat, butter, and sunflower oil were sold in the stores at state prices, and cereals were sold without coupons or cards.

And then Salye took charge of the food commission. One of her first decisions was to refuse help to rural areas since the "vegetables would be bought up in other oblasts." As a result, the food program was a complete failure!

It is no wonder that on 8 November 1990 the Radio Liberty announcer noted:

"As 'people's commissar of food' Salye is no good, although she has plenty of ambitions."

Whatever else she might be lacking, ambition is not one of those things. Many Leningraders will recall the meeting organized on 7 November of last year at 1500 on Palace Square. Marina Yevgenyevna called for tearing the "red rag," that is, our State Flag, from the roof of the Winter Palace. She even took the microphone in her hands twice. She should tell us why there is no bread in the city on the eve of the holiday. But she directed all of her ardor into another channel. When a semiliterate person behaves this way one can make allowances, but she is a doctor of geological-mineralogical sciences....

And during the same election campaign how angrily those same "democrats" unmasked the party "apparatchiks" who were increasing their own wages. But, once the "democrats" won the elections, they increased their own salaries even more. And their consciences do not bother them at all.

Once at a joint session of the Leningrad city and oblast soviets it took two hours to approve the preamble to the resolution "On Getting Out of the Food Impasse." Instead of the two days allotted, they met for three, but they still did not have enough time. They postponed it until the middle of January.

On 21 December 1990 the Leningrad television station "Fakt" ran a number of interviews conducted on the streets of the city. The people said bitterly:

"This is the time of dilettantes here. The hopes we placed in the Leningrad Soviet were not justified. There are out of their league but still try to act as though they know something."

So go the assessments. But still it would be wrong to apply them to all the deputies. For there are many decent, intelligent, and professionally literate people in the Leningrad Soviet. For example, I have a great deal of respect for the chairman of the Commission for Transportation—Candidate of Philosophical Sciences I. Kiselev. I have known Igor Pavlovich for many years. He was the one who several years ago headed the informal movement to retain the children's train rides in our city. And he won. And Docent Kiselev put so much effort into organizing the system of humanities education in the Leningrad Institute of Railroad Engineers!

Igor Pavlovich does not speak at rallies—he has no time for that. He is busy in the Leningrad Soviet, producing a great advantage for the city. The loudmouths and demagogues are another matter. They are not capable of anything but yelling.

They say that it has become a malicious fad to gripe about the "democrat" deputies. But what do fads have to do with this? When they hurl every insult they can think of at us communists, there is no mention of fads.

Even under the new authorities in Moscow, the drunkard in front of the store holding a bag full of empties complains:

"The damned communists have come up with the idea of peeling the labels off the bottles."

The communists are to blame here too....

In the newspaper NEVSKIY KURYER, whose editor in chief is P. Filippov, the vilest slander is printed in the column "Soviet Political Anecdotes." It is embarrassing to read them, but not to print them. The CPSU is a special target here.

A great deal of harm is also done to us by the "Manilov Syndrome," a blind faith in unrealistic ideas and plans. The other extreme, in my view, is the maximalism which is backed up by nothing and is manifested in a thoughtless shifting from side to side and a love for slogans such as "Go for Prohibition!" "Kill the Enemy of Perestroyka in Yourself!" and so forth. The main cause of such "maximalism" is that same ignorance on the part of the people who are taking over the administrative functions. The sanctimonious fight against drunkenness not only caused many billions in losses but also contributed to the rapid growth of drug addiction and substance abuse. Who assesses the degradation of the human dignity of millions of people, and how?

And a penchant for disparaging remarks has also become widespread recently. This has been manifested in a desire to see only the bad in our country's past and present and to portray everything only in dark colors. The "plebeian psychology" is manifested here. From it comes the idealization of life in prerevolutionary Russia and glorification of the "benevolent and fatherly tsar."

Incidentally, A. Denikin, who tried until the end of his days to prove the rightness of the "white cause," had the courage to admit that a monarchy was impossible for Russia. But present-day ignoramuses yearn for it.

In May 1990 in Moscow's Pushkin Square I saw a placard: "I want Borka for tsar!" I read it as a stupid joke. But then I read a report of a meeting of the opposition bloc which calls itself radical and left-centrist on that same day, 17 December 1990, in Moscow. In their opinion, Russia should not have presidential power but a constitutional monarchy without the right of inheritance of the throne. Among the candidates for the post of head of the Russian state they named a great-nephew of Nicholas II, and also A. Solzhenitsyn, as well as social democratic leaders A. Obolenskiy and O. Rumyantsev. They also named B. Yeltsin.

Certain of our "informals" could not live without the father-tsar. True, all these contortions remind one very much of the "monarchist dreams" of Khvorobyev from the well-known novel by Ilf and Petrov. The only thing missing is the "individuals close to the emperor" like Kis Vorobyaninov. I think they will appear soon.

The time will come when people will be horrified by what is happening today—the wild malice with which certain "democrats" react to different thinking. Yesterday they complained about a state that did not tolerate "dissidents." But today, having made their way into power, certain "fighters for the interests of the people" place their own ambitions above everything else.

At one session of the Leningrad Soviet, USSR People's Deputy N. Ivanov stated:

"We deputies must go ahead of the law."

And this was said by a lawyer, a former senior investigator for especially important cases of the USSR Procuracy!

Our society is in a severely neurotic condition. The malice has reached the extreme. Many are engaged in a search for the "enemy" who can be blamed for all our problems. And sometimes there is enough of a spark for terrible explosions to burst out....

There are more than enough examples. Why should we destabilize the situation even more? Who stands to gain from this?

I am fairly well acquainted with certain of the most outspoken "democrats" who have left the CPSU. At one time they were "faithful servants" of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] and the party. The received all the benefits and privileges of which I, a professor, could not even dream.

They spoke at Komsomol and party conferences and congresses and said "what they were supposed to say." For they were very "correct" and never argued with the "leadership."

Today when you hear the malicious attacks from the renegades on the CPSU, you want to ask:

"With all due disrespect, where is your conscience?"

Of course, everyone has the right to revise his views and convictions. But—without dragging through the mud that which is sacred and good to millions of people. I have no faith in people who change their stripes easily and behave like rolling stones.

I recall that certain editors from Leningrad television several years ago, before going on the air, demanded that I "not deviate from the script." To my objection that I could not speak from a text, they explained that they "might get into trouble." Today they are rushing "with authorized courage" into an embrasure from which nobody is firing. Whatever you say, their courage is striking. But I am afraid that they can abandon their "principles" again just as easily (if the situation in the country changes).

Karl Marx wrote about the terrible, demonic power of ignorance and was afraid that it would again be the cause of many disasters and tragedies. His prediction has been borne out repeatedly in history.

Today I am terrified when I see the crowd, ready to tear to pieces anybody whose views do not fit into the desired scheme, paying attention to the appeals of political adventurers.

For on 3 February 1938 my father, an illiterate Pskov worker, was arrested and shot because he was denounced by a neighbor who coveted our house.

Although Stalin had proclaimed that "children are not responsible for their fathers," we three young sons and our mama were loaded into a freight car and sent to "distant regions."

You who call yourselves democrats are demanding a trial of the CPSU.

For what?

For the ideas of equality, brotherhood, and freedom which communism proclaimed? For the fact that, to use Marx's words, communism is equated to humanism?

We should condemn people who are guilty of distorting the noble ideas and have used them to commit crimes.

I am in favor of that kind of trial—public and open.

I have been a member of the CPSU since 1954. I will not leave the party. I will not "change stripes" like those who when they were young wrote in their statements: "I want to be in the first ranks of the builders of communism."

Well, I repeat, this is a matter of conscience for each person.

Kazan Rally Attacks Union, RSFSR 'Centers'

PM1704100391 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent M. Zaripov under general headline "Under the Flag of Local Patriotism": "Parade of Presidents Now?"]

[Text] Kazan—If it was not known from the up-to-the-minute reports of the newspapers, radio, and television that the Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies had completed its work last Friday and that the parliamentarians, somewhat fatigued by the uncompromising debates, had gone their respective ways to join the sowing campaign, then Sunday's rally in Kazan's Freedom Square could have been taken to be a continuation of the great Russian forum, inasmuch as the speakers' impassioned speeches from the rostrum imitated the burning passions of parliament. It was as if it had been scripted—everything was literally word for word as it had been at the extraordinary congress. Even the uncontrollable spontaneity of the rally, the wide range of opinion, and the categorical nature of the ideas propounded. Each speaker in turn rejected the previous speakers' ideas and proposals.

Members of the republic's "Sovereignty" public committee organized and conducted the rally, and the main protagonists were representatives of the All-Union Tatar Social Center and the Ittifak national party, and people's deputies of the Tatarstan Republic. The speeches and resolutions—supported by a concerted show of hands—fell into two groups. The first are claims against their republic's government and legislature; the second—critical shots aimed at the Union and Russian centers; both, however, expressed equally in the manner of an ultimatum: "Hand it over!"

Those taking part in the rally criticized their republic's Supreme Soviet in this way for its tardiness and sluggishness in implementing the declaration of sovereignty, and for lagging behind political events; for six months they have simply been unable to draw up their own versions of the Union and Federation treaties. Categorical demands followed: to draw up by May 20 a Constitution for the Tatarstan Republic, or alternatively for the legislature to be dismissed. The rally's participants expressed yet one more extreme viewpoint—to change the status of RSFSR people's deputies from Tataria so that they participated in the Russian legislature only as observers.

Of course, the most painful, heated point of discussion is the presidential form of government approved for the RSFSR. The speakers started by demanding the indictment of organizers of the Russian referendum on a presidential-style ruler in the republic who, having collected several thousand signatures "for," are passing this off as representing the wishes of the 4-million-strong population of Tataria. Then it was proposed that a boycott be declared on the forthcoming elections for Russia's sovereign ruler. And the speeches finished with the usual proposals that a single chief combining legislative and executive powers should also rule in Tataria. If there is to be a presidential ruler in charge of Russia, why should a Tatarstan Republic with the same rights as Russia be deprived of analogous status!?

All the democratic transformations in the political and economic spheres of life today were tempered at the rally by the following slogans: "The RSFSR Constitution Is a Renewed Trap for the Smaller Peoples," and "The Collusion Between the Center and the RSFSR against Tatarstan Will Not Succeed."

So there you are, no more, no less than: the threat of dismissal, a warning about "universal collusion," and a "renewed trap." Anyway, what is so surprising about such a wide range of opinions, and ardent and impassioned speeches? The rally followed hot on the heels of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies, and was therefore a carbon copy of the Russian parliamentarians' debates, which expressed everything entering the deputies' excited heads. As the congress behaves, so should you expect to find a similar response in the streets and squares. Or, maybe it's the other way around—the street rallies and demonstrations have an effect on the irreconcilable parliamentary battles, tiffs, and squabbles. After all, this is a mutual process.

Kabardinian Conference Disputes Balkar Congress

PM1504135991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Ali Kazikhanov: "Kabardinian People's Conference"]

[Text] Nalchik—A Kabardinian people's conference has been held in the capital of Kabardino-Balkaria.

The Kabardinians, members of the Adygei-Abkhaz group, are one of the most numerous indigenous peoples in Kabardino-Balkaria: They comprise half of the inhabitants of the republic.

The conference adopted a resolution rejecting the establishment of a two-chamber system in the Kabardino-Balkar Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet and dissenting from certain decisions of the first congress of the Balkar people.

The Kabardino-Balkar SSR Supreme Soviet was asked to accelerate the examination and adoption of the Union treaty.

The conference demanded that the republic's Supreme Soviet recognize the Russian-Caucasian war as an act of genocide and secure for the Adygei the status of an exiled people and thereby create conditions for compatriots living abroad to return to their historical homeland.

Western Republics

Belorussian Strikers Protest Legislative Session

LD1704193991 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 1731 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] The information about the decision of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium to start the fourth legislative session on 21 May was announced today as planned to the representatives of the strike committee. "This decision has very much surprised us," said Georgiy Mukhin, cochairman of the strike committee, to journalists after the meeting at the Supreme Soviet. "How can one postpone convocation of the session for as long as a month in such an alarming situation?"

For that part the representatives of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who had taken part in the meeting with the strike committee, believe that it is unrealistic to bring the date of the session nearer. Time is needed to prepare many documents.

Neither of the sides managed to convince their opponents of the correctness of their position. This is why, by mutual accord, it has been decided to meet again on 18 April, although this time, the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the city strike committee are invited to the negotiations table in their full strength. According to Sergey Antonchik, people's deputy of the Belorussian SSR, a group of deputy from the opposition appealed to Nikolay Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, to use his right of legislative initiative and convene an extraordinary session.

Minsk Strikers Urge Emergency Supreme Soviet

PM1704115391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Apr 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent M. Shimanskiy: "Hoping for an Extraordinary Session of Parliament"]

[Text] Minsk—One of the main political demands made by the leaders of the Minsk strike movement at the talks with the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet was the convening of an extraordinary session of the republic's legislature. This question was discussed early Monday morning at a Belorussian Supreme Soviet Presidium session.

The strike movement leaders asked the republican Supreme Soviet to give a definitive response regarding an extraordinary session by 1500 hours 15 April. Talks also began early Monday morning on the main questions between the Belorussian SSR Government and the leaders of the Minsk strike movement. The workers' main economic demand is for wider social benefits.... This question is currently being discussed by both sides.

The republican government understands the demands, but the problem is where the money for the benefits is going to come from. Indeed, in addition to Chernobyl, the situation in Belorussia is made extremely complex by the enormous budget deficit—it is 3.5 billion rubles [R]. And this is nearly one-fourth of the republican budget.

The leaders of the Minsk strike movement regularly appear live on television. Incidentally, they noted that the talks with the republican Supreme Soviet are taking place in a congenial atmosphere, despite the extremely acute situation. They appealed to Belorussian SSR people's deputies, asking them also to demand convening an extraordinary session.

Minsk strike committee cochairman G. Mukhin said: "It is clear that we are in for a struggle. So I am asking both the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and the Minsk City Party Committee to get a roundtable discussion going and to talk live on television about the burning issues. And let the people be the judge."

There was an organizational session of the Belorussian strike committee in Minsk. It was attended by representatives of the Borisov, Orsha, Soligorsk, and Gomel city strike committees and by envoys from 20 enterprises in eight Belorussian cities that do not have strike committees.

Here is another important news item. The Belorussian SSR Trade Union Federation Council Presidium accepted the proposals by sector trade unions' republican organizations to the effect that no material, disciplinary, or any other action can be taken against working people who participated in actions against lowering living standard in early April.

Belorussia's Shushkevich on Current Crisis

AU1704201191 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 16 Apr 91 p 2

[Interview with physicist Stanislav Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia, by Roland Heine in Minsk; date not given: "End of Belorussian Patience"]

[Text] In contrast to the strikes in the Siberian Kuznetsk Basin, the mass strikes in Belorussia were suspended unexpectedly in the middle of last week. Representatives of the republic's leadership and of the striking workers are holding talks every day.

The physicist Stanislav Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belorussia, is heading the talks on behalf of the republic's leadership. In the past, Shushkevich criticized both the government and the opposition. Our Moscow correspondent Roland Heine spoke with the "lonely cat" (Shushkevich) in Minsk:

[Heine] Belorussia was considered a relatively quiet republic for a long time. Were you taken by surprise by the developments that started in April?

[Shushkevich] The Belorussians are a very disciplined people, but we are no obedient primitives. Fate made the Belorussians patient and adaptable. Our country was

conquered many times during the past centuries, even if Belorussia itself was never involved. Even after 1917, the people were forced to adopt a lifestyle to which they were not accustomed. The former leaders did not serve Belorussia's interests. Let me give you an example: Whereas our productivity was always among the highest in the country, our average salaries were clearly below the level of those of all four neighboring republics.

This was aggravated by inconsistencies and mistakes within the framework of perestroyka. The leadership was hesitant. It was afraid it would not reach the other side of the river. Now we are being swept away by the river. Gorbachev's visit to Belorussia in February even led to an exacerbation of our situation. We were searching for a way out of our crisis under great pain when he staged his useless show. No people in the world wants to be told that it is primitive. This country needs a leader, not somebody who gives lectures.

[Heine] The nationwide price increases on 2 April finally triggered the strikes.

[Shushkevich] Yes. The increases adopted by Moscow thwarted our desperate attempts to achieve social stability. In addition, our republic's authorities and even high government circles have not yet realized what they are doing. People took to the streets, showing that they have finally lost their patience.

[Heine] Among other things, the striking workers want a coalition government in the republic. Do you support this demand?

[Shushkevich] This is fiction at the moment. The new parties have only a few hundred members each, and their political programs are very vague. In addition, they have no concepts whatsoever about how to overcome the current crisis. However, this does not mean that specialists from various parties cannot join the government. Presently, numerous political demands are still based on emotions. This also applies to the call for Gorbachev's resignation.

[Heine] How do you assess the general strike and demonstration ban, announced by the president?

[Shushkevich] I am absolutely against it. One must talk with the people and find acceptable solutions. One must also have the courage to dismiss those who cannot rely on the support of the people. However, so far only labels have been changed in our country.

[Heine] How good are the chances for a successful conclusion of the current talks?

[Shushkevich] The current negotiations are an equation with numerous unknown factors. I believe that future explosions can be prevented and that the economy can be revived if the republic's leadership behaves in a logical way. However, I do not rule out that we have not yet established contact with important people in the strike committee.

Belorussian CP Statement Airs Current Problems

LD1604195791 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0300 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] The newspapers today publish a statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia on the current political situation. The statement analyzes the political and economic situation in the republic, which has been aggravated by very difficult problems, linked to the Chernobyl tragedy. Perestroyka, on which great hopes were placed, has reached a deadlock. Communists, the statement stresses, resolutely support the economic demands of the working people of the republic in connection with the excessive retail price hikes and will strive for their practical satisfaction. The communists also come out in favor of the most comprehensive participation of workers and peasants in organs of power. The demand for bringing order and discipline into the country, strengthening executive power, and stopping crime is also voiced.

Communists support the decision of the working collectives on declaring a moratorium on strikes, rallies, and other critical actions which destabilize the situation in society. The statement calls for creative labour, good sense, and composure.

Belorussian Potassium Miners Resume Strike

LD1704135191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] Miners at the enterprises of the Beloruskaliy [potassium] association resumed their strike today. According to a report from the press center of the republican strike committee, the immediate reason for this was the fact that the association's administration sought legal action over the activity of the local strike committees. In spite of the conciliation commission set up at the association, representatives of the Beloruskaliy management have no intention of recognizing the strike committees. The strikers' demands are both economic and political.

Rally Staged in Lvov To Protest Price Hikes

LD1704213991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2042 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Report from Lvov by V. Lyashko from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A protest rally took place in Lvov today. For the time being, the city's inhabitants have decided to express their feelings toward the price hikes in just such a way.

The most influential sociopolitical forces—the oblast soviet and the trade unions—are not supporting calls for a general strike. They are trying to explain to the people that strikes can only aggravate the economic situation, which is already desperate.

The rally participants were not demanding so much—the abolition of the five percent sales tax, or the implementation of a rational pricing policy by the Union and the republican governments in an effort to stabilize the situation. There also were calls to put an end to shifting from side to side and to stop testing the people's patience with various economic experiments.

Ukrainians Strike Against Gorbachev

AU1604115491 Paris AFP in English 1147 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, April 16 (AFP)—Workers in the Ukrainian capital Kiev stopped work Tuesday in response to a call by radical leaders for a general strike to back demands for President Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation, INTERFAX independent news agency reported.

Three out of four trolleybus depots, a bus route and several factories in the city were paralysed by the strike, according to Leonid Berliand, leader of the Kiev strike committee quoted by INTERFAX.

The agency said the Kiev strikers had backed demands made by striking coal miners for the resignation of Mr. Gorbachev and the dissolution of the federal parliament.

They had also added demands of their own for the dissolution of the Ukrainian parliament and new elections on a multi-party basis and for an end to Communist Party infiltration of public services, the army and the security police, the KGB.

A correspondent of the Ukrainian news agency UKRINFORM, contacted by telephone, said the strikers were also calling for the nationalisation of Communist Party assets.

A rally was to be held in Kiev later on Tuesday with the participation of striking pit workers from the Donbass coal fields.

INTERFAX said the Ukrainian opposition had expressed support for the Kiev strikers' demands except for the one calling for the dissolution of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet (parliament).

Ukraine Legislature Takes Anticrisis Measures

PM1704145191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

["Hot Line" report by correspondents M. Odinets and I. Tikhomirov: "Day of Reflection and Shouting"]

[Text] Kiev, 16 Apr—The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session continued its work in Kiev today following a recess. An overall political strike was also planned. Alas, this was no chance coincidence. Methods of pressuring deputies have been insistently elaborated for some time now.

There was an unusually large number of people thronging the morning streets—vehicles from two trolley depots and one bus pool had not set out on their routes. Naturally, there was a steep rise in the number of late arrivals at work. Individual striking groups had mounted pickets in the central square by Kreshchatik. Here, too, were miners who had come from Chervonograd in Lvov Oblast. But Kiev enterprises were still working. People are quite clearly aware that you cannot surmount the crisis by striking.

It is the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet that has outlined ways to overcome the crisis. V. Fokin, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, was the first to speak. He provided information on the measures that the government is taking in an extremely complex situation. In order to soften the blow inflicted by the steep price hike, the five percent tax on children's goods and food in canteens and snack bars in general educational schools, vocational and technical schools, technical colleges, and higher educational institutions has been abolished.

A special republic commission has been set up to resolve in practice and without delay all questions associated with the implementation of compensation payments to the population. The Ukrainian SSR State Price Control Inspectorate has begun working to ensure the population's reliable protection against a groundless increase in prices and charges for goods and services. The republic government and the Independent Ukrainian Trade Union Federation Council are completing talks on additional measures for the population's social protection.

Of course, there is no miracle solution for surmounting the crisis. But it is also clear that it is impossible to surmount crisis phenomena and improve people's lives without consolidating society.

Ukraine's Kravchuk, Fokin Discuss Economy, Strikes

LD1704121991 Kiev International Service in English 0000 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At the session of the Ukraine's Supreme Soviet today [16 April] the head of Ukraine's Government, Vitold Fokin, delivered information about the current situation on the republic due to the price reform made at the Union level. In part he said:

The matters produced by the Union Government, while realizing the price reform, resemble very much a surgical operation without anaesthetics. As a result the population has been thrown into shock, without ensuring essential therapeutic assistance. So it is quite natural that the actions of the Union Government arouse now a wide dissatisfaction of the people, not only in the Ukraine, but all over the Soviet Union, said Vitold Fokin.

The Ukraine prime minister underlined that this measure is a forced undertaking, since lately the Soviet economy has found itself on the brink of a real destruction. The level of industrial production is rapidly dropping, especially the output of consumer goods and food products. Hence, almost empty shelves at the stores,

huge queues, inflation. The head of the Ukraine's Government also pointed out that the price reform has added quite a few new problems for the Ukraine's budget, because now it will be necessary to finance many new programs connected with compensation measures. The Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers makes everything possible to soften the negative influence of the price reform on social interests of the citizens. A law on wage reform is being worked out. It is envisaged to increase compensation sums for the population, to increase monthly wages and other incomes of the citizens which are not liable to taxation up to fixed subsistence minimum. Assistance to families with small children will grow, due to the rise in prices for children's goods. Additional financial aid will also expand to nonworking mothers who have three and more children under the age of 16. The cost of food at the secondary school canteens will be preserved at the previous level. A state inspection of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic for controling the prices has been created to prevent arbitrariness in price formation on the part of enterprises and local bodies of power.

The Ukraine's prime minister Vitold Fokin ended his speech with the following words: Both the nation and the government of our republic are on the same side of the barricades. Now we have no other goal than improvement of people's life. As for the strikes or other actions of civic disobedience, which at first glance seem to be directed against the dictate of the center, in reality they are a sensitive blow at the government, and Ukraine as a whole, said Vitold Fokin. [passage omitted]

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, Leonid Krakvchuk, said in his speech:

I, for example—and I think the majority of people both in this hall and beyond it will support me—I believe that we must achieve sovereignty, develop sovereign Ukraine, but we must attain all this by peaceful means only. The session of the Supreme Soviet can resolve any issue, but it can do it only on a constitutional basis, and only taking into account the interests of the nation, said Leonid Kravchuk.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine spelled out his views on ways to stabilize the situation in this republic. His position boils down to the following: First of all, the Council of Ministers must in the near future submit to the Supreme Soviet a program of the republic's withdrawal from the crisis, to submit for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet a proposal and drafts of documents on suspension of the decrees and decisions of the central government which do not correspond to the vital interests of the Ukrainian people, in line with Article 71 of our Constitution. We waited for a long time; we didn't want to worsen the situation. But now we have lost patience, said Leonid Kravchuk.

Leonid Kravchuk also advanced several proposals which go beyond the borders of solving issues of exclusively social character. They are aimed at the relaxation of the political situation in the republic. One of these proposals touched the necessity of holding the so-called round-table, together with the striking committees of the republic.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet paid special attention to the strike movement, which has recently intensified in the Ukraine, and has negative consequences for the republic's economy.

I would like to propose for nominal voting the following wording: Any calls for strikes, no matter who makes them, and what aims they may set, will be assessed by the Supreme Soviet as a road leading to the destruction of the economy, and consequently of the entire social and economic life, as actions directed against the interests of the Ukraine's people, against its sovereignty, said Leonid Kravchuk.

By a majority of votes the deputies supported the proposal advanced by the chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk. [passage omitted]

Ukraine To Introduce 'Food Rubles'

LD1704172591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] A Ukrainian press correspondent reports: Fokin, head of the republic's government, has reported to the parliament that the introduction of a special kind of money, only for buying foostuffs, is being planned in the republic. Food Rubles [kormovyye rubli] will be printed at the Gosznak printing house; the republic plans to reach an agreement on this with Prime Minister Pavlov.

Ukraine Retains Money To Cushion Price Hikes

LD1704183391 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Stanislav Volnyansky]

[Text] Kiev April 17 TASS—"The Ukraine has not been able to transfer three billion roubles to the all-Union stabilisation fund this year," republican Prime Minister Vitold Rotin told the Ukrainian legislature on Tuesday.

"Moreover, we are unable to give nine billion roubles to the centre, which the Ukraine had to contribute to the all-Union fund for the population's social assistance," he added.

He spoke at the Ukrainian parliament at the request of deputies wishing to know what measures the government intends to carry out to cushion a blow at the population as a result of sharp price hikes for foodstuffs, industrial goods and services.

The prime minister noted that methods used by the all-Union government to implement the price reform "are very similar to a surgical operation without anaesthetics".

Despite the sharp situation, Fotin said, the republican government took some measures to protect, as much as possible, the living standards of the Ukrainian population from the negative influence of price hikes.

The prime minister stressed that in the near future the republican government intends to increase measures to ease the consequences of the price reform. This will need funds, but the republican economy is in dire straits.

Moldova, Trade Union Agreement Reported

LD1704005491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] Kishinev, 16 Apr (TASS)—The Government of Moldova and the Council of the Independent Trade Unions' Federation have, for the first time, concluded a general agreement for 1991. Its main aim is to secure the economic, social, and legal guarantees for the working people. The republican MOLDOVA-PRESS agency reports that the agreement is based on equal partnership and mutual responsibility. Obligations the government has pledged to carry out in the near future include establishing a list of goods and services which form part of the minumum consumer basket per capita. On this basis, the trade unions demanded that a guaranteed subsistence minimum be established for all categories of Moldova's population. The agreement also stipulates that in the event of an increase in state retail prices of goods and payments for services, the government will ensure full compensation of the losses of income incurred as a result of spending money on the basic foodstuffs and basic goods, other than food, which form part of the minumum "consumer basket."

Until a Moldova law "on employment", is adopted, a procedure is being established in the republic whereby a decision on a complete or partial liquidation of enterprises, organizations, and farms will only be adopted if there is a program to ensure that the workers thus released will be retrained and placed in other jobs. The agreement also makes it incumbent on the government to constantly analyze the level of inflation, real wages, the standard of life of various social and age groups of people, and the index of increases of prices for consumer goods iand services.

During the transition to insurance-based medicine, the trade unions demanded the government guarantee that free medical services for the population are retained, while at the same time developing a broad network of auxiliary medical establishments which charge for their services.

A permanent commission has been set up to monitor the course of the fulfilment of the agreement, reports MOLDOVA-PRES.

Moldova To Provide Useful Work for Deserters

PM1504153591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Apr 91 First Edition p 3

["Direct Line" report by TASS correspondent V. Demidetskiy: "Finding Work for Deserters?"]

[Text] Kishinev—The Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Government has adopted a resolution authorizing the republic's Department for Military Questions and Military Commissariat, along with local soviets of people's deputies, to ensure the requisite conditions allowing soldiers on compulsory military service who have gone AWOL to find employment. It stipulates that they must all engage in socially useful work until their term of service expires. This document contains an appeal to young men drafted for service from the republic not to leave their troop units without good reason, to observe discipline, and to act in accordance with the decisions of the Moldova Supreme Soviet.

Estonia's Savisaar Arrives in Moldova

LD1704004891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] Kishinev, 16 Apr (TASS)—Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar arrived in Moldova today on a working visit, reports the MOSDOVA-PRESS agency. During his three-day stay in the republic, he will discuss the implementation of the economic agreement between Moldova and Estonia with Moldovan prime minister Mircha Druk.

The Moldovan prime minister noted that "his Estonian colleague's visit to Moldova has confirmed once more that establishment of the bilateral ties between the republics does not mean breaking economic ties, but provides their normal foundations.

Caucasus

Georgia's Gamsakhurdia's Powers Questioned

LD1704161891 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS world service analyst Georgiy Izgorin]

[Text] Moscow April 17 TASS—Did you ever here about a president whose very first decree called for a political strike? President Zviad Gamsakhurdia of the Georgian republic did just that in a republic suffering the throes of an economic crisis.

The decree, issued two days after Gamsakhurdia was elected president last Sunday, calls for a strike in protest against the introduction by Soviet federal authorities of additional interior troops into South Ossetia.

And this after the Georgian authorities failed to quench the inter-ethnic conflict between Georgians and Ossetians that has lasted several months. An Interior Ministry contingent had to be sent to South Ossetia to disarm local militants of both nationalities and ensure the delivery of food to besieged Tskhinvali, the administrative centre of South Ossetia.

The first presidential move appears very dubious in this respect and highlights the question of his powers and answerability.

The Georgian parliament is now completely in the control of the "Roundtable-Free Georgia" political bloc, of which Zviad Gamsakhurdia is the leader. This parliament vested virtually unlimited powers in its president. The president is not answerable to anyone and can only be displaced by the parliament "for high treason if no less than three-fourths of its deputies vote in favour of the move."

After his victory in the elections, Gamsakhurdia declared Georgia independent and managed to rally most Georgians around the idea of independence. He blamed all wrongs on the federal leadership. Any statements that contradicted this were regarded as betraying the interests of Georgia and playing up to the center. Any dissent was roughly suppressed.

However, Gamsakhurdia is aware that pretexts for ever new accusations leveled at the center are bound to run thin soon. The time is near when he himself will have to take responsibility for the economic crisis and the inability to settle the conflict in South Ossetia peacefully. This can in turn undermine his popularity and even lead to the dissolution of the bloc he now heads.

In order to put off these developments, Gamsakhurdia initiated the March 31 referendum on the restoration of Georgia's state independence. On the basis of the referendum results the parliament declared Georgia independent of the Soviet Union. Gamsakhurdia once again successfully banked on the national sentiments of the Georgian people and strengthened his own popularity. But even this seemed insufficient. The political "roundtable" bloc pushed the law on the introduction of the post of president through parliament and elected Gamsakhurdia to the post.

Few people doubt today that Gamsakhurdia will be elected president also during the direct elections on May 26. Whatever the changes in the political situation in the republic, he will fill the post for the next five years and fully control the work of the parliament.

In point of fact, the politicians who were so vociferous about democracy have brought the Georgian republic to the threshold of authoritarian rule.

Gamsakhurdia, Roundtable Lead in Opinion Poll

AU1704141391 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 31 Mar 91 p 3

[Results of Opinion Poll conducted by the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet Information and Forecasting Center in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Text] Today, Georgia is faced with severe political and social problems. Upon the decision of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet, a referendum is being held today.

At the same time, a new form of local government—a prefectural [system]—is being introduced, a National Guard has been created and conscription into it has been announced, and elections to the sakrebulo [new organs of local government] have been scheduled.

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet Information and Forecasting Center offers some findings of its sociological survey.

The poll was conducted in Tbilisi with a correlation of the age and nationality of the population.

The rating of political and public figures (those figures who scored less than than two percent are not included) was as follows:
1. Zviad Gamsakhurdia—62.1 percent
2. Nodar Natadze—3.3 percent
3. Ak'ak'i Bakradze—2.6 percent
4. Irak'li Ts'ereteli—2.0 percent

We deem it expedient to present the rating of political parties and social organizations (those organizations that scored less than 0.7 percent are not included). In answer to the question as to whom they would support if an election was held tomorrow, those polled answered in the following way:
1. The Roundtable—64.4 percent
2. Freedom—7.2 percent
3. The Georgian Communist Party—3.3 percent
4. The People's Front—2.0 percent
5. Democratic Georgia—0.7 percent
6. None—22.9 percent

Conscription into the National Guard was supported by 92.6 percent of those polled.

On average, 92 percent of those polled agreed with the formation of a National Guard on the basis of the following lines of argument:

Georgia as a sovereign republic needs its own military formation—93.8 percent;

Georgia's young men will no longer be sent to other republics and countries to perform their international duty—90.2 percent;

A National Guard is necessary in order to resolve problems on the republican and local level—92.7 percent.

On average, 2.0 percent of those polled were against the formation of a National Guard on the basis of the following lines of argument:

Georgia as a sovereign part of the Soviet Union does not need a separate army—2.3 percent;

It would be better for young men to do their service in Russia or somewhere else—1.4 percent;

The republic can resolve local and other problems by using the militia and internal troops—2.2 percent.

The materials used have been supplied by the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet Information and Forecasting Centers of Social Administration and Georgian Social Research attached to the Council of Ministers.

The Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet Information and Forecasting Center.

Gamsakhurdia 'Seriously Concerned' on Ossetia

PM1104135591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 91 p 1

[S. Orlyuk, N. Mikeladze reports under the general heading: "Georgia: Day Two of Independence"]

[Text] A news conference was held at the Republic of Georgia Mission in Moscow yesterday.

Two dates in the Georgian people's history coincided on 9 April: the proclamation of independence and the second anniversary of the tragic events in Tbilisi. The criminal investigation into the deaths that occurred in 1989 has been terminated, as you know. Professor of Law L. Aleksidze, member of the Supreme Soviet, called this verdict a dangerous sign.

L. Aleksidze said that Georgia is prepared for sanctions to be applied against it after the adoption of the Act of Independence.

It was also reported at the news conference that the Georgian Supreme Soviet has decided to introduce the post of president in the republic and the corresponding law is being drafted.

In an address to M.S. Gorbachev, Z. Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Soviet, noted the president's personal contribution to the favorable changes in East Europe and throughout the world, and also his oft-stated benevolent attitude toward the Georgian people. On that ground he expressed the hope that Georgia will be recognized as an independent state.

Meanwhile, the Act of Independence is being discussed today with a certain astonishment. It was considered a matter of principle that Georgia refrain from proclaiming "paper sovereignty." But one way or another the step has been taken. The opposition is wondering whether they should wait for a "coup" in Moscow (as Spanish journalists have joked), when the fact of independence will be a trump card, or whether Gamsakhurdia is trying to score more points....

But the chairman of the Supreme Soviet himself is seriously concerned about the situation in the former South Ossetian Oblast. At a press conference held yesterday, Z. Gamsakhurdia reported that new military subunits are being introduced into that territory, Georgian villages have been surrounded, and the militia disarmed. A general strike is beginning in Georgia. A large railway junction in the west of the republic has already stopped work.

Situation in South Ossetia Complicated, Tense

'Illegal Formations' Disarmed

LD1704103991 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz April 17 TASS—The situation in Southern Ossetia, part of the Republic of Georgia, remains complicated and tense.

Soviet Interior Ministry troops, in pursuance of the Soviet president's decree, continue disarming illegal formations and groups, operating on the autonomous region's territory, according to reports from North Ossetia's Interior Ministry, that came today to the press centre of the extraordinary committee under the North Ossetian Supreme Soviet president.

As many as about 400 units of rifles, combat and home-made grenades, explosives, hail cannons, portable radios, armoured carriers and tens of thousands of cartriges of various calibres were confiscated from gunmen of the opposing sides over the past two days. Over a hundred Georgian and Ossetian nationals were detained. Parole certificates and identification cards of officers of Georgia's Interior Ministry were found on some Georgian gunmen.

A special commission of investigators and experts from the Soviet Interior Ministry is working in villages in the region. It is collecting materials and material evidence on acts of brutality, marauding and plunder, committed by Georgian gunmen there.

According to official data, over 50 Ossetian villages on South Ossetian territory have been burned down, demolished and looted.

Shots have not been heard in Tskhinvali, the South Ossetian administrative centre, for over a week now. By decision of the parliament of the republic of Georgia the state of emergency was prolonged there until May 12.

Food products, medicines and fuel are being brought to the city under armoured protection by the main Tskhinvali-Dzhava highway. Ossetian village refugees are being

taken out of Tskhinvali under army protection. There is still no electricity in the regional centre. Gas and water are in short supply.

In spite of the difficulties, lessons have resumed at four schools, obstructions and barricades are being cleared and food stores and public transport have started functioning.

Refugees are asking the military to help them return to their native area to start the spring planting in the fields, vineyards and orchards, now that additional Soviet Interior Ministry units have arrived in South Ossetia and illegal formations of gunmen are being disarmed.

Ransacking, Killing Continue

AU1704155691 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] Regarding the situation in Samachablo [South Ossetia], the Press Center of the Georgian Interior Ministry reports the following: Actions of Ossetian separatists and extremists are becoming increasingly provocative and unabashed. They have become particularly daring as a result of obvious support given to them by the USSR internal troops. In particular, they raised the state banner of the Russian Federation on the building of the former executive committee of the oblast soviet in Tskhinvali.

At night, armed bands engage in ransacking and robbing the apartments of Georgians. During the night of 16 April, they burned down the home of Lili (?Tsirilashvili). In broad daylight, before everyone's eyes, the bandits drive automobiles away from people's yards or dismantle them on the spot to use as spare parts, which they take away with them.

On 16 April, in the village of Gudzhabauri in Tskhinvali Rayon, the Ossetian bandits killed the father of three children, a collective farmer named Valiko (?Dzhamburidze). As we reported, on 15 April, the Ossetian extremists took as hostages two residents of Tamarasheni: director of forestry Vikentiy Datashvili and a student at the higher militia school named Dasho Kalulashvili. The latter was returned late at night; he had been cruelly beaten up and his face and legs were injured. He was hospitalized in Gori. The fate of Datashvili is still unknown.

Units of the USSR internal troops are still detaining 21 citizens of Georgian nationality, including two militiamen.

Georgian Committee Agrees To Continue Strikes

AU1804084191 Tbilisi Domestic Service in Georgian 0400 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] The strikes and boycott of the center will continue in Georgia until the Soviet empire stops interferring in the internal affairs of our republic, in particular, in Samachablo [South Ossetia]. This was one of the main decisions adopted at a meeting of the strike movement's committee.

The meeting was held in the building of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Georgia with the participation of the chairmen of the strike committees that have been formed at enterprises subordinate to the Union.

The participants discussed issues related to the coordination of joint action to ensure the least possible damage to our economy. The meeting's participants stated that, in the future, the forms and methods of the strike movement could change in accordance with any changes in the situation in the republic. An aid fund for the strikers is currently being set up at one of the banks in Tbilisi.

It was stated during the meeting that, today, both the government and people of Georgia have one aim: the genuine restoration of their state's independence. The current strike is also a political action in support of the boycott of the center and in support of the national legislature. In itself, it represents a victory for the firmness of our soul in our aim to direct the attention of the world public to the aggression of the empire against the sovereign Republic of Georgia.

Georgia Elects Supreme Soviet Chairman

LD1804104291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1010 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Apr (TASS)—SAKINFORM agency reports that a Georgian Supreme Soviet session was held here today, at which 37-year-old Akakiy Asatiani, the leader of the Georgian traditionalists, was elected chairman of this supreme body of state power in the republic. He previously held the office of first deputy chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet.

The deputies also adopted a law on elections of the president of Georgia, in accordance with which the first general elections in the republic's history are set for 26 May this year. Until that time, this office, according to a parliament decision, will be held by Zviad Gamsakhurdia

Georgian Official on Independence Declaration

AU1604161091 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Givi Taktakishvili, chairman of the Economic Reform Committee of the Georgian Legislature, by Laszlo M. Lengyel via telephone from Georgia; date not given: "Georgia Is Celebrating—Moscow Is Silent"]

[Text] The Georgian Republic continues to celebrate on the third day after its declaration of independence—Givi Taktakishvili said in a short telephone interview to NEPSZABADSAG.

Givi Taktakishvili said that people were dancing and singing in the streets and carrying posters cheering their independence. The capital city and the entire Georgian Republic are in a state of ecstasy over freedom.

Asked about the future of the Georgian economy, Givi Taktakishvili said that the future clearly belonged to the market economy and that the government was working hard on the transition program. There is full consensus regarding the goals to be attained. According to the concepts, the independent Georgian economy must preserve its current performance ability during the aforementioned transition period and then it must develop on the basis of independence and broaden direct foreign economic relations.

Taktakishvili stressed that there was great need for the support of developed countries. So far, Georgia has only experienced moral support from the West, but they also need tangible financial help. Moscow is blocking economic relations with the other republics, and only imports could supply the missing goods, but Georgia does not have enough convertible currency for this at the moment. Besides, the Georgian Republic must also settle accounts with Moscow in some way.

"We hope that we will find the way leading to foreign partners and we will set up direct contacts with foreign countries, including Hungary"—Givi Taktakishvili said.

Speaking about relations with Moscow and the whole Union, Givi Taktakishvili said that, according to the Georgian position, negotiations were needed as soon as possible. However, no answer has yet come from Moscow and Moscow does not show any readiness to negotiate; the central government also opposes negotiations.

At the same time, tensions have increased in the Georgian Republic between the Soviet Army units and the Georgian population. Soldiers set fire to Georgian churches and occupied military installations, and they also help the separatists in South Ossetia, Givi Taktakishvili said.

Armenia Nationalizes Communist Party Property

LD1704210991 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Tigram Lilian]

[Text] Yerevan April 17 TASS—The Armenian legislature today adopted a resolution to nationalize all property of the Armenian Communist Party and the Youth League (formerly Young Communist League).

The resolution notes that the coalescence of the Communist Party with the state power and the usurpation of the leading role were used to accumulate immense material wealth in the party's hands.

The Communist Party property, the document stresses, was created by several generations of citizens of the republic at the expense of state resources.

The Armenian parliament decided to consider as state property all property that belongs to the Communist Party and the Young Communist League which is its virtual part.

The adoption of the resolution was preceded by a heated discussion of what should be regarded as property of social-political organizations in the republic.

A special report on the subject was prepared by a commission set up by the Armenian Council of Ministers for the purpose.

Many deputies noted that under conditions of newly independent statehood and a multi-party system, all political parties and movements should be granted "equitable starting possibilities".

A representative of the Armenian Communist Party told parliament that the problem of party property, including the building of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee in Yerevan, will be considered during the third phase of the 29th congress of the party in May.

Interior Ministry Confiscates Weapons in NKAO

LD1704133791 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 17 Apr 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert April 17 TASS—Activities to normalise the situation are being continued in Nagorno-Karabakh. Interior Ministry troops and personnel of the USSR Interior Ministry's investigatory operations group have carried out a number of operations to withdraw weapons and ammunition from Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Six launchers for home-made mortar shells, eight mortar shells, one home-made mortar, four shotguns, and a considerable amount of ammunition were confiscated.

However, despite measures being taken, the situation remains complex: villages, peasants working in the fields, shepherds, and motor vehicles on the roads continue to be fired upon.

Another four Azerbaijanis were killed in Nagorno-Karabakh on Tuesday. Criminal proceedings were instituted in connection with the killings.

However, it is clear that a solution to all issues lies in the political field, through mutual settlement and negotiations. Unfortunately, steps to achieve peace are not enough now. Hence continuous loss of life and renewed difficulties.

Yerevan Reports Azerbaijani Attacks in NKAO Rayon

NC1704094891 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1950 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh's Martuninskiy Rayon has become the hottest spot in the oblast. Settlements here have been coming under fire for the past month.

Official sources have told an ARMENPRES correspondent that at around 1720 on 15 April a group of armed men, including members of Azerbaijan's special militia, attacked the dairy farm in [name indistinct] village. Th. firing continued for two hours. Internal Affairs Ministry troops came to the villagers' assistance. One of the attackers, Sergeant [name indistinct] Yildaz Neymazoglu of the special militia detachment, was wounded in the leg and taken to a hospital in Agdam.

Later the town of Martuni was fired on with various weapons. This time, too, the shots came from the Azerbaijani villages of (?Khodzhabent) and Amirallar. According to preliminary information, there were no casualties. No serious incidents took place yesterday in Nagorno-Karabakh's other rayons.

Armenian Premier Says Union 'Breakup' Inevitable

NC1704104591 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 16 Apr (ARMENPRES)—Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers, visited Amsterdam 8-10 April in response to an official invitation to participate in the work of the international organization known as the Global Panel. The Global Panel, which carries out research into European affairs, holds a yearly international consultative meeting in Amsterdam. [passage omitted]

Addressing the consultative meeting, Vazgen Manukyan thanked the people and the government of the Netherlands for the enormous material and moral assistance they gave to earthquake-stricken Armenia. The premier referred to the problems pertaining to our independence and noted that the West will eventually have to accept the Soviet Union's breakup into different states. He touched on the natural course and the main phases of this process.

Premier Vazgen Manukyan then turned to the current situation in Armenia and noted that our republic is aspiring to make a transition as soon as possible to an economic system that meets international standards and is based on private ownership. The Armenian people have two characteristics which should enable them to travel this road more quickly than the people of Eastern Europe and elsewhere in the Soviet Union. These characteristics are the unique psychological makeup of the Armenian people and the existence of the diaspora. Therefore, it is no coincidence that we are far ahead of other republics on matters of privatization. [passage omitted]

Yerevan Reports Trains Arriving After Blockade

NC1704085891 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] The periodic transport blockade against Armenia no longer surprises anyone, despite the fact that the president of the USSR issued a special decree envisaging certain penalties against this inhumane practice. Disorder and lawlessness still prevail in the transportation sector, particularly on the railways.

The directorate of the Yerevan branch of the Transcaucasian Railways has told an ARMENPRES correspondent that Armenia was again subjected to a transport blockade between 8 and 14 April. However, the Norashen junction resumed operations on 15 April, and five trains have already arrived through that station. Another train has arrived via Idzhevan and (?one more) is expected.

Trains are not entering from Georgia due to the railroad workers' strike in that republic. [Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 0400 GMT on 17 April reports that the Georgian Government has decided to impose a road "tax on all types of road transportation passing through the republic's territory." It adds that the tax will be used for road maintenance.]

Armenian Party Membership Declines, Seeks TV Hour

NC1604122991 Yerevan HAYASTAN in Armenian 14 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

["Report delivered by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Aram Sargsyan to the 9 March 1991 Plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee on the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau's account of its activities for the period following the 29th congress to the present time"—HAYASTAN headline]

[Excerpts] Three months have passed since the 29th congress of the Armenian Communist Party. Even today it is difficult to say if it was a turning point or not. The party is still in a deep crisis. That is the reason for the Central Committee Bureau to turn its main attention to the creation of a stable situation within the party. [passage omitted]

A sober assessment of the situation required a speedy calculation of our numerical strength, since on it depends our future capabilities and program of activity. Judging from the documents, the Armenian Communist Party had 190,840 members as of 1 February. A total of 7780 people have left the party by filing applications.

After the adoption of the law "on the depoliticization of the state enterprises, establishments and the educational institutions," the grass roots organizations found themselves in quite a difficult situation. In assessing the progress of the work, we could definitely state that the work in this direction is proceeding with enormous difficulties and sluggishness. [passage omitted]

Considering that nowadays the doors of the television—the most popular information media—are in effect closed before the Communist Party, the Central Committee Bureau is taking measures to have its own television hour. [passage omitted]

Armenian Communist Party Restructuring Organization

NC1604124991 Yerevan HAYASTAN in Armenian 26 Mar 91 p 1

[Report by R. Danielyan under the general heading "Territorial Party Organizations Are being Formed To Serve the People"]

[Excerpt] The Yerevan-Ordzhonikidzevskiy territorial party organization [taratskayin kuskazmakerputyun] meeting of Communist pedagogical workers took place on 22 March.

Karine Yegiazaryan, secretary of the rayon party committee, opened the meeting and noted that in conformity with the republic's law [on political parties] the rayon party bureau has dissolved the party grass roots organizations at the state establishments, enterprises and in the educational institutes. Henceforth these communists will be included in the territorial party organizations to base the organization of the party's activities on residential districts rather than on work places. We have gathered here to discuss with you the issue of merging the communists from fifty educational establishments in the rayon into one territorial organization.

In his speech Sergey Badalyan, first secretary of Yerevan city party committee, stressed that the city party is carrying out similar work throughout the city. He added that territorial organization of the communists have already been formed in all the rayons. [passage omitted] [Yerevan HAYASTAN on 2 April 91 page 1, carries another report under the same general heading this time by R. Grigoryan on the formation of territorial party organizations. The report says in part: "No matter how difficult it is to confess, the bitter truth is that the Communist Party is losing its authority which once seemed indisputable. The process of restoring that authority will be difficult." It also adds that "the party is undergoing serious qualitative and structural changes."]

Stepanakert Residents, Commandant To Cooperate

NC1304115591 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Report by ARMENPRES correspondent Aleksandr Grigoryan: "Nagorno-Karabakh: a Useful Meeting"]

[Text] A meeting took place today in Stepanakert between the representatives of the residents of Stepanakert and the leadership of the military command of the state of emergency.

The military command leadership informed those present about the main problems faced by the servicemen. It was stated that close relations should be established between the population of the oblast and the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry's internal troops deployed here.

The soldiers admitted that the presence of the military hardware during the implementation of the state of emergency regime caused some damage to Stepanakert and expressed their willingness to actively participate in the public work weekend to be held tomorrow, on 13 April.

In turn, those present at the hall underlined that the Azerbaijan's Special Purpose Militia is the cause of the exacerbation of interethnic tensions. The members of this militia take part in lawless acts, fire on Armenian settlements, and commit barbarities at the Stepanakert Airport. The people also pointed out that the road blockades (?should) be lifted and the detained Armenians should not be taken to the Shusha prison because Stepanakert's detention center has already been built.

It was noted with regret that Colonel General Gromov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, who was in the oblast recently did not have time to meet the public of Nagorno-Karabakh to listen to their problems.

The military command leadership expressed readiness to make a detailed study of all the problems and take appropriate measures.

On the other hand, the situation remains [words indistinct] complex in the state of emergency region. According to preliminary information, the Armenian-inhabited (?Kirov) village in Shushinskiy Rayon again came under fire on 12 April. The timely response by the servicemen undermined the intentions of the attackers.

Paper Shortage Cuts Armenian Newspaper Production

LD1704004491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1733 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] Yerevan, 16 Apr (TASS)—Only seven newspapers, the ones with the highest circulation, out of about fifty appeared today in Armenia. Cuts have been made in the publication frequency of the youth, sports and other press.

The reason for such an extreme measure, to which the printing works of the publishing house of the Armenian Communist Party's Central Committee, where nearly all the newspapers are printed, was forced to resort is the lack of paper.

"The shortage of paper has become a habitual phenomenon for us in recent times," said its director, V. Markosyan. "It's now the fourth month that suppliers have been keeping us on short rations. Only 60 percent of the stocks allocated arrive in Yerevan."

Publishers are aware of the difficulties with raw materials at the Solikamsk pulp and paper combine, from which the paper goes to Armenia. Maybe it will be supplied by the Kondopoga or Balakhna combines? That is for the administration of affairs of the CPSU Central Committee to decide.

The publication of republican magazines has also been halted by the paper shortage.

Central Asia

Kazakh President Nazarbayev Interviewed

PM1704105991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 91 p 2

[Interview with Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, by correspondents Valeriy Simonov and Yevgeniy Dotsuk; date not given; first two paragraphs are introduction: "One of 'the Few Who Was Attracted by Western Ideas'"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The 50-year-old Nursultan Nazarbayev is an original and powerful politician of the new formation although his path to the post of president of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] is in full accordance with the old nomenklatura subjects. A classic party career (from secretary of a metallurgical combine party committee to first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo) has not prevented N. Nazarbayev from resolutely coming out in defense of market relations in the economy.

At a time when some people are calling for the transition to the market to be put off until "later," when things are going better, and others are complaining about the lost socialist values, the leader of Kazakhstan prefers to act. Of course, it is too early to speak of results. But, to judge by the "team" which gives advice to the republic's president and the laws which are being adopted—in these actions we can see logic, common sense, and resolve. Everything which on an all-union scale has long been in very short supply....

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Nursultan Abishevich, the former incumbents of this beautiful office spent many years leading people toward communism. Now you are frequently rebuked for pushing the republic onto a capitalist path....

[Nazarbayev] You know, when I am told that I should admit and say out loud that we are moving toward capitalism, I suggest to my opponents: Then let us say frankly that, having built "developed socialism," halfway to a bright future, we are existing with a standard of living on a par with Mozambique. There are 2.5 million people in Kazakhstan alone who live below the poverty line. Let us leave this talk now. I consider the main thing today to be thinking how to improve people's lives.

Yes, accusations are coming from above and below. In Minsk, although my name was not cited in M.S. Gorbachev's speech, I felt criticism from him. In general I used to note that after our private conversations on whatever subject after a certain time Gorbachev would answer me publicly. Then I would read these replies in the newspapers. Thus in Minsk: "...A few people are attracted by Western ideas." It looks as though this is the reaction to a talk of ours when I described how I was inviting brilliant Western economists to work in the republic's Supreme Economic Council.

I did indeed say to Mikhail Sergeyevich: On the one hand we are advancing toward a market, at any rate we have proclaimed that path, and on the other you are constantly defending in public the old ideological props to the economy. We must nonetheless put in to some shore, otherwise it is hard to stay afloat.

I believe we must resolutely separate the economy from ideology. There should be no party influence on economic strategy including influence by the Communist Party.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Do you hope that everything taking place in the country now will end in peace? The mood is increasingly perturbed with every passing day....

[Nazarbayev] There is hope, there is. It is now obvious that the crisis in which we have found ourselves is the result of absolutely unjustified and unpredictable errors committed by the government, especially last year. But after all in other countries, too, real reforms began after the economy had entered the vortex of crisis and the need to get out of it had arisen. So it has been in Turkey, South Korea, the FRG after the war, Japan, and Singapore.

Although, of course, everything is far more complex in our country. Over 70 years under the conditions of a mobilized economy is quite a time. They say that perestroyka is to blame for all the troubles. Nothing of the kind, we were advancing toward this. In 1980 it was clear that everything which lay on the surface we had appropriated and taken away, we had sold the depths of the earth, the oil, we had bought grain and clothing—we had acted like halfwits in the economy. The political processes which began in 1985 accelerated this descent into crisis. We found ourselves in an impasse. I am sure that in our country there are bright people, there are economists and politicians who can suggest a way out of the crisis. But unfortunately among the central authorities there is no demand for these people. I am simply amazed at that. I myself belong to the so-called top echelon. Together with the first leaders, at conferences I note the lack of trust in new ideas. Yes, order is needed to emerge from the crisis. Not a "firm hand"—ordinary order. There are only two paths in introducing order: Either a government with the people's confidence or tough discipline from above, especially in the economy. No one has

implemented an anticrisis program any other way. Alas, the country presently has neither the former nor the latter.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What is your attitude toward the confrontation which has emerged between the leaders of the country and of Russia and in recent works has exceeded all bounds of political decency and common sense?

[Nazarbayev] Naturally, this confrontation strongly perturbs me. The conflict between Gorbachev and Yeltsin makes me bitter. Separately they have potential which could well supplement each other, and the country needs that so much! I shall say frankly that recently I have tried most actively to intervene to bring their positions closer. You know that I have mutual understanding with both Yeltsin and Gorbachev. There were long talks and conversations and at times it seemed to me that compromise was on the point of being achieved. I simply cannot understand how after such meetings, when they seemed to have agreed and coordinated their positions they left and each began to insist on his own way, forgetting that he had given his word.

I cannot bring myself to say that Gorbachev and Yeltsin are guided only by ambitions, because these men have such trust bestowed on them by the people. It is hard to explain such implacability by anything else. It is a pity, a very great pity, that the main line of today's confrontation lies precisely here.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Forgive us for perhaps putting the question incorrectly but tell us frankly: Who do you prefer, Gorbachev or Yeltsin?

[Nazarbayev] I have already said that I value highly the political and human qualities of both leaders. But confrontation has gone too far and it looks as though it is already too late to hope for mutual conciliation. In this situation I shall give preference to the side which ensures state stability.

Now it seems neither the rightists nor the leftists deny that M.S. Gorbachev is a great reformer, the author of perestroyka. But the reforms are in danger, we are faced with an entirely real threat of the advent of a dictatorship harsher than the former totalitarian system. Let us honestly ask ourselves a question which, incidentally, has already been put in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA by the philosopher A. Tsipko: "What awaits us when the sense of satisfaction that Gorbachev has been removed has passed?" I think by no means an intensification of democracy. An important quality for any politician is the predictability of his actions. I believe M.S. Gorbachev has that quality. That is why I am very afraid of drastic changes in the top echelon of power which today could lead to the loss even of the small democratic gains which perestroyka has given us.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] You have frequently publicly criticized the center's policy with regard to the republics. In that sense is the word "center" identified with anyone specific?

[Nazarbayev] I have always had in mind the USSR Government, unfortunately. In the course of perestroyka Ryzhkov was still unable to rid himself of the influence of the system in which he grew up. We leaders of the governments—I headed the Kazakhstan Government at the time—said that he looked on the republics as "Uralmash" shops. Although on the human plane there is much in him that is good—honesty, frankness, industry. And he had a sincere desire to rectify the situation. But it was precisely through the government's fault that we missed every opportunity to mitigate the crisis. Verbal disputes, lack of resolve instead of vigorous measures for the transition to the market. M.S. Gorbachev saw that but he agreed with the government's passivity. The Cabinet of Ministers is a new one now and it is embarrassing to speak negatively of it out of hand—we are supposed to support its undertaking. Nonetheless, I have already told Pavlov that the people must know what next steps will be taken. Well good, they have replaced the 100-ruble and 50-ruble notes—of which, incidentally, there was not a mention in the program of Fundamental Avenues for the transition to the market. They have raised prices—all right, we had long been approaching these prices, there was no way out, we supported the USSR Government program. But what next? After all together with the powerful measure that is the radical increase in prices other stabilizing programs should immediately ensue. First, the most extensive privatization. That is the number one issue. Then: What will happen regarding currency? What will happen to the customs service and duty? Will we create conditions encouraging the foreign investor to come to us? Will there be tax benefits for him? Pavlov is saying nothing of this. But how is that possible? An enormous country is living by some kind of improvisations. And although the new government has not been working long I conclude that a government of popular trust is needed which will come with a clear program and will have its own brain center and will suggest urgent measures for emerging from the crisis. The longer we delay, gearing ourselves toward a "slow transition," then the greater the costs to us of emerging from this battle. We must enter a market economy rapidly and boldly. The people will understand, we only have to offer them a clear program and explain the aims for which such tough measures are being taken.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Tell us, Nursultan Abishevich, what is the point of the bilateral treaties concluded with a number of republics if to this day the Union Treaty has not been signed? What is the center's attitude toward these steps?

[Nazarbayev] The center does not like our horizontal ties, although their consolidation is nothing other than the desire to protect the economies of the republics under the conditions of the disintegrating mechanism of

management. I am surprised at how it ispossible to do nothing to take management into our hands. Last year we saw how deliveries were not coming in, plants were on the verge of stopping. And we embarked on these interrepublican economic agreements in order to support our enterprises, to link them, and somehow to protect them. Initially we concluded treaties with the Central Asian republics and then with the Ukraine, Russia, and Belorussia. And at least matters got moving! Unfortunately it is with Russia that matters are proceeding worse than with the others. So far oblasts, autonomous bodies, and krays here are acting for themselves and the government acts for itself. We are very interested in Russia remaining intact and not disintegrating.

Beginning with Mikhail Gorbachev the center believes that we are simply "indulging in politics" with these treaties. Ryzhkov in general did not accept them and considered them rubbish. Lukyanov adhered to approximately the same opinion. But for us it was this measure which proved salutary, we have maintained 90 percent of our ties. But in the future... I am deeply convinced that we cannot do without the Union and our agreements are a real basis for the Union treaty. There should be a single monetary unit, a single economic space—only then will we successfully advance toward the market economy. There are 60 million people living outside their national-state formations, how can we get away from that? The economic is tightly linked. How to break these ties? After all, setting up new ties is expensive, that must be understood.

I think it will be hard for the Baltic republics on their own. This year, for instance, the Baltic received a large quantity of wheat and many other types of raw material from Kazakhstan. But if they have no intention of taking part in the Union treaty and leave the Union, they will have to pay in currency, and at world prices, for Kazakh grain, nonferrous metals, wool, and cotton. I said this to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker during our recent talk in Moscow. He asked me: Can the Baltic republics exist under these conditions? I replied: Of course they can if the United States and the other Western countries assume the commitment to supply them with all these resources free of charge. Baker only laughed in response to this suggestion....

I should like to say to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA readers and all my compatriots: Brothers, we must be together. Politicians come and go but the sense of being a single family and of pride in belonging to a great country will remain forever with our peoples. So surely we can preserve it for our children and grandchildren?

There has been everything in our joint history—both good and bad. But I am sure we will be able to build a new Union—equal and free. We must not let that chance slip by.

Those republics which have already found their position must sign the treaty and create a state on the basis of the strict observance of republican sovereignties, determine the limit of the center's powers, and divide property fairly.

As yet there are many complaints against the center. Take the Federation Council. Why has it been created, why are we taking this direction? We agreed not to submit this question for discussion by the Supreme Soviet until we have voiced our opinion on the law on the government. We left, the next day the document was already in the hands of the deputies. They agreed the list of ministries which were essential—ministries of health, defense, internal affairs, and others—and with regard to sectorial ministries we agreed that we would voice our opinion at the federation. No, again the matter is being decided without the opinion of the Federation Council.

Take the referendum. If we decided at the congress—we in Kazakhstan never opened up a war of the laws—and agreed to hold a referendum, we did, it is true, suggest our own formulation. Although whether or not the Union should be is for the republics and not the center to decide! You should have known what happened here! Every day either the president himself or his aides would telephone saying: Put the union question as the first question. They tried to intimidate us: We shall not take the results into account, they said. I said: Don't take them into account, it is important for us to know the opinion of the Kazakhstan inhabitants. Furthermore that was after all what the republic's Supreme Soviet decided. Passions were heated, on the eve of the referendum I had to speak on television and said: "Dear Kazakhstan inhabitants! I believe the referendum to be a vote of confidence in me as president." Over 94 percent voted in favor.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Nonetheless, despite these differences, you have frequently received an invitation to move to Moscow, to that selfsame "center" which you often sharply criticize. Does your refusal conceal a reluctance to share responsibility or something else?

[Nazarbayev] This all began last year. In late April by a secret ballot for the first time in Kazakhstan's history I was elected president. And immediately proposals came in. I refused them. Because Kazakhstan is Kazakhstan, after all it is an enormous land and I have had the opportunity to do something for the people who trust me. I had no other motives for refusing.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] In Kazakhstan, without waiting for the center's decision, you began work on privatization and are preparing the republic's economy for the market. Yet your previous experience comes from that "mobilization economy" of socialism for which private ownership is a sin and heresy....

[Nazarbayev] Well, do you not believe in the evolution of the individual? We have created a Supreme Economic Council in the republic. I invited not only Grigoriy Yavlinskiy and his group to join it, but also the U.S. Professor Beng [name as transliterated] and Leonkhubud

[name as transliterated], dean of the University of California—both world-famous economists. I sent an invitation to the former prime minister of Singapore, I was also very interested to know his opinion of our situation.

Yavlinskiy presented us with a privatization plan which I passed on for assessment to Professor Beng. I offered Doctor Beng's program for a unique expert assessment to Professor Leonkhubud. Our Kazakh scientists developed something. Thus, from the four programs we compiled the optimum privatization option for the republic and strove to consider all its pros and cons. The Western scientists are not simply economists, the market is their natural element, and I value their recommendations.

As of today the proclaimed sovereignties of the republics are an illusion. For the republics to implement for themselves their own policy of advancing toward the market they need banks, currency, and customs control. All that is in the hands of the center. What can Kazakhstan do right now? Reorganize the structure of the economy and make it acceptable to the market. Second—carry out privatization. That is what we are doing. We began by selling apartments in the cities and houses in the countryside. A poll showed that 80 percent of the Kazakhstan population support us. In April we plan to publish a draft law on privatization.

Our advisers have developed an option for people to accept privatization as calmly as possible. There are various proposals. They include the following: The sums are being calculated according to a special formula which will be issued in the form of coupons to the people of Kazakhstan depending on a person's qualifications and work experience. That part of the cost of state ownership is being issued to people free of charge. That is "collectivization in reverse." The coupons will be issued for privatization—if you want you can buy a hairdressing salon or a store. We want to redistribute apartments according to the same formula.

Incidentally, we were among the first in the Union to adopt laws on entrepreneurship, on free economic zones, on foreign economic activity, on the protection of the rights of foreign investors. That is active preparation for the market.

In Kazakhstan now there are about 350,000 entrepreneurs operating—cooperative members, lessees, peasant farms. Inasmuch as it is within my power I personally support these people and I urge my fellow fighters to give them the "go-ahead." Of course, there are flaws in the cooperative members' work but I believe the state is to blame since, in adopting the law on cooperatives, it did not think out the details and did not improve that mechanism.

We have also changed the structure of management. A law has been adopted—the Cabinet of Ministers works under the president's leadership. All the old structures of the ministries have been disbanded and in their place is the Committee for State Property, the Central Tax Inspectorate and, in the pipeline, the Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and Support for Small Business. We shall intensively send young people to study abroad, a president's fund named "Cadres of Perestroyka" has been created for the purpose and its founders are the republic's major enterprises.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Nursultan Abishevich, do you have political opponents in Kazakhstan?

[Nazarbayev] People who criticize the leadership or myself personally do exist. But in my opinion there is no organized movement. I struggle uncompromisingly against organizations of a clearly directed nationalist, chauvinist bent. Kazakhstan is a multinational republic and its future and long term lie only in the equality of all people irrespective of nationality, language, religion, and party affiliation. That is my policy. It was on this basis that I took the oath when I was elected president.

So when I am asked who I am I reply that on questions of internationalism and the conservation of our state I am a centrist and on market issues I am a leftist. Does that mean I am a left centrist? It seems to me that my line is correct, it accords with the interests of many Soviet people, not only those of Kazakhstan. It is a practical line.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] The next question is about combining the duties of first secretary and president of the republic. This is giving rise to many disputes and reproaches leveled at you....

[Nazarbayev] The Kazakhstan people, especially rural inhabitants, are conservatives in the good sense of the word, they adhere to existing traditions, history, and the past, and it is difficult to sway them. To this day the party's positions are very strong here. In 72 percent of the primary organizations no one has left the party and admission is continuing. So what sort of a politician would I be if I were to spurn that force? Although as first secretary I have done everything to change the structure of the party apparatus. We have reduced it and disbanded the economic departments. It would have been worse if the Communists had embarked on open confrontation with the new soviets. I repeat that I believe the main thing to be the economy and I am struggling for the party secretaries in their oblasts and rayons to really support the transition to market relations, to join the vanguard at least once for the entire duration of this time of perestroyka.

Of course, it is difficult, some oblast and rayon leaders in the republic do not accept new ideas. I think they are merely waiting for the old times to return. That is why nothing is changing in the life of their rayons and oblasts and enterprising people find no place there.

I once gathered the secretaries who combine their posts with work in the soviets and discussed the problem of privatization with them. One rose and said indignantly: But there will be stratification into poor and rich. I replied: But why are you not indignant that you receive 1,000 rubles a month while a surgeon or an engineer only

gets 200? The myth of the present equality lives on and I have to have such talks with my fellow fighters.

I believe that if the Communists want to retain the people's trust they must primarily stand on the firm soil of internationalism, second they must struggle to preserve the state and the country's unity, and third they must support all new forms of the market economy. It is this three-point ideology that I offer to Communists as the basis of their present practical activity.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Tell us, as a member of the Politburo, what questions you have raised in that representative organ?

[Nazarbayev] Since the 28th party congress I have been invited to two Politburo sessions and I was unable to attend one of them through illness. That is the entire extent of my participation. Frankly, the work of that organ is now of a formal nature, so that I have nothing in particular to say about it. I shall merely say that truly serious questions on which the country's fate depends are now resolved in other bodies. In my opinion that is a good thing.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Today Kazakhstan is sufficiently stable (touch wood!) in a racked country. What is the reason?

[Nazarbayev] National consensus is the fundamental basis. A very delicate question and we constantly keep a finger on the pulse and try to predict the political situation and prevent possible conflicts. Last year I met twice with informal organizations and their leaders. On the last occasion the talk lasted from 1000 to 1900 hours. We spoke sharply, about everything. In the end, and I am glad of that, the informal organizations decided to create a Council of Civil Consensus under the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee], not to excite the multinational republic, and to agree on everything together. So far this is working.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] And the practice which existed in Kazakhstan when of the two leaders of an enterprise or institution one had to be a Kazakh and the other a Russian, has it persisted?

[Nazarbayev] Indeed, it did exist. And to this day there are voices saying that priority for national cadres is needed. I have repeatedly voiced my opinion: Do the Kazakhs have no pride? If, like an invalid on the tram, you are given a place only because you are a Kazakh or a Russian, and not for your deeds, intellect, abilities, or experience—how can you feel after that? In general we avoid that now. But all else being equal we do consider national staff. The basic principle is choosing people according to their professional qualities.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] It is said that the example of the Arab Emirates serves as a guideline for state structure for you?

[Nazarbayev] I have never had the Arab Emirates in mind. And in general I have not yet had any dealings with that country. I am impressed by the experience of South Korea, Singapore, Turkey, and one cannot despise China's experience. Of course, not in the sense of transferring their methods 100 percent to us—with a consideration for our conditions. As for the Arab Emirates, I am sure that there will never be an Islamic monarchy on the territory of Kazakhstan.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] A big political trump card for you was the fact that you were able to agree with the Karaganda basin miners and persuade them to abandon their strike. So far few people are managing to do that. What words did you find?

[Nazarbayev] I am not inclined to ascribe that to my exclusive credit and I did not go to see the miners for the purpose of gaining political trump cards but because I understood their demands. In general it is too early to speak of the success of that meeting since not everything has been resolved. I have long-standing relations with the miners. After all I used to work in Karaganda and I did the rounds of all the mines. They are people who accept only those they recognize. When in 1989 I was elected first secretary of the Central Committee not a month went by without a miners' strike beginning. Everything which I promised them at the time I fulfilled absolutely. I left no debts to the miners. Those demands which remained unfulfilled are within the competence of the Union government. Kazakhstan has a difficult situation here: The coal basin is subordinate to the Ministry of the Coal Industry and the solution of a number of questions is beyond us. The miners understand that.

When I came to them last I warned them immediately I would not examine any political demands. We began to discuss economic issues point by point. The central ones were a 100-150 percent increase in wages. Miners' work is very hard and very dangerous and miners' families live in constant expectation of some calamity. So the miners' demand is legitimate. I support them. But on the other hand I asked them to understand that Kazakhstan receives state subsidies because of the distortion of prices. After all we sell coal and metal at super-low prices. Therefore this kind of money for wages is simply not there right now. So they can strike and bring not only the republic but also the country's economy to its knees and we will halt the metallurgical plants, there will be no electricity, we shall not carry out the sowing, that is how it will end. I told the miners that, if you trust me, I shall gradually resolve your questions at the Union level. It has now been decided that from five to seven percent of the coal should remain at their disposal to sell and exchange by barter. But these are all half-meausres. The main solution is real independence, privatization, and the market once again.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] How do you remember that time—as a happy one or as a black period in the life of the country and the republic?

[Nazarbayev] It would seem hard to talk of happiness right now—times being what they are. Many people,

including party leaders, have simply lost heart and people have lost their usual guidelines. I shall say that on this plane it is easier for me, after all I have always engaged in the economy.

At the age of 18 I worked at the metallurgical combine. I have done a full "hot metal" stint. Next I worked in the Karaganda Obkom [Oblast Committee] and the Central Committee—what did I work with there? Oil, ore, machine building, coal, cadres, new equipment. I was never absorbed by "pure" ideology....

With perestroyka, when we began the struggle against stagnation and came up against ironclad resistance from the old structures, it was often hard for me—then I was subjected to persecution. Now, too, it is hard, even now there are doubts, but the main thing which inspires me is the trust of the Kazakhstan people. And if I succeed in justifying this trust I shall be really happy. I very much hope I do.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Tell us, do you have meetings or perhaps telephone conversations with the former leaders of the republic?

[Nazarbayev] You know, my relations with Kunayev were sharply aggravated in 1986, it was simply a nightmare year. Then at the 16th Communist Party congress I tried to speak frankly of the situation in the republic without, incidentally, informing Kunayev personally. I hoped that we would set to work together. But he gave everything a hostile reception and there was complete rejection of even this impersonal criticism.

Since then I have had almost no dealings with him. I shall not go into all the details. I shall merely say that I continue to treat him with respect as a man. As for his views.... He recently appeared in the press again saying: I have been and will be devoted to my dear Communist Party, there is none better. I shall not accept another ideology. In that kind of spirit. The trouble with Kunayev the cadre party member is that he is a son of his times. When we assess these people we cannot use only today's yardsticks and we cannot separate them from those years. On the other hand we also now know what mistakes were made, what deadly decisions for the country and society were taken by the leadership of the party which had usurped power in our society.

Last year Kunayev's wife died. I knew her. I would visit them for dastarkhan [meaning unknown]. She was the person closest to him, the Kunayevs had no children.... When I learned of his grief, within an hour I visited him with several of the republic's leaders. We embraced, as is the custom. He was very moved—I could see that. I expressed my condolences and in reply he considered it necessary to say: That was how the times were. I probably committed errors. I support your course, you are doing everything right, we in our time could not make up our minds, were unable to work like that. In such cases people do not act against their conscience, he were probably sincere....

I talk more often with Kolbin, we have normal relations for all that his activity in Kazakhstan did not particularly delight the people. He himself has frequently stressed that he is a soldier of the party, and here in the republic he showed himself to be a supporter of administrative-edict forms of work, although the times had already changed then. In assessing the events of December 1986 he allowed the approaches inherent in that style: dispelling, suppressing, forbidding. And for all that he wanted honestly and conscientiously to do something, to make changes for the better—I can say that firmly.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] When you became president, did you receive any privileges which you did not have as first secretary of the Central Committee?

[Nazarbayev] Only what the Supreme Soviet decided. My own aircraft (it is allowed for the first secretary of the Central Committee and a Politburo member) and official transport. I kept all that. A state official apartment, an out of town residence, a residence in Moscow. Is that a lot, in your view?

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] We don't know whether it is a lot or a little. Probably just right? And what is the routine at these residences?

[Nazarbayev] I try as I can to break out of the usual vortex, but how? I get up at 0600 for training: I work out with weights, it is a habit with me: My car is broken—can you see? I was a wrestler in my youth. And I look through and read the mail until 0830. Of the newspapers I read first IZVESTIYA then KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA then PRAVDA. Then I have my working day. I try to watch the "Vremya" program at home in the evening. I read before going to sleep. And I devote Sunday to reading, but alas it is mainly economic literature. On Saturdays we work although I am in favor of having more leisure, after all we only live once. My passion is big-league tennis. I try to play twice a week but I do not always manage it.

I have three daughters, the youngest is 11 years old. I have three grandchildren. That is my whole life.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Nursultan Abishevich, are you a believer? They say you can often be seen at the construction site of the new mosque in Alma-Ata....

[Nazarbayev] No, I am an atheist, I do not even know the religious canons. That was the education I received. But the mosque.... The previous one was built about 150 years ago. What is surprising in that we should have decided to construct a new one, using mosque funds? Yes, I do visit the construction site, I am interested in it. Last Sunday I went to greet believers on the Easter holiday in the orthodox church and the parishioners received me very warmly. After all the clergy also help me in my work—they urge people to be good and patient. Is that not the most important thing now?